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MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS, SOCIAL CHANGE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: THEORIES AND CASES

BY

© ENNEKE JOHANNA LORBERG

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled " Millenarian Movements, Social Change and Community Development: Theories and Cases", submitted by Enneke J. Lorberg in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Arthur K. Davis

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Date 27 April 1981

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to examine theories and models of millenarian movements, and to show how deeply relevant the phenomenon of millenialism is to Community Development. Social dynamics generated during the process of millenarian movement under its charismatic leadership may be viewed as a way in which a tribe, a group or nation comes to terms with and absorbs rapid social changes, and how it participates in and contributes to its own socio-cultural resynthesis. Theories of revolution, revolt, and relative deprivation are put in historical and comparative perspective. Charisma, both in the setting of traditional and modern societies, is taken into account. This leads up to an analysis of how social movements, social change and millenarian beliefs and activities may be deeply interwoven in societal reality.

Millenialism is a dimension found in various degrees of intensity in social movements. Most salient characteristics of millenialism are collective action undertaken by a group in oppression or deep frustration with their social, economic, political and/or cultural conditions. Their joint action--mostly under charismatic leadership--is a desperate attempt to bring about total and imminent salvation for the group members out of a fervently kept belief that: transcendental powers, ancestors returning

from death and/or God will intervene directly in the present situation of despair and disorientation. To speed up the coming of a new world, a new society in a "golden age", the members of the sect are frantically urged to get ready for the final event. Some of the old values and rites suddenly have become meaningless, others are imbued with a new transcendental meaning. One part of the belief system is fanatically rejected, the other part is dramatically revitalized. The adherents to the movement are torn between suffering experiences of an impossible present, projecting fantastically towards a dream reality of the future, at the same time assuming that this golden age is to crystallize right then and there. By getting all carried away in these revolutionary illusive projections--which they experience as imminent full reality in their own present time--they are making a leap into a transcending level of existence.

Under successful charismatic leadership, deep resentment can find an outlet and take the form of a protest movement. In this manner the faithful learn in a group process how to differentiate between religious and political concerns. At the same time the members of the movement-in-the-making can free themselves from their political subordination which they perceive to be, in the colonial context, part and parcel of all missionary activities. By the time the movement gets going, new ideas can be generated and diffused; even alien concepts can be blended in. Then during the next stage of increasing differentiation in society, these same movements may become exclusively religious, again in a sublimation of politics or as a substitute for it. Millenarian movements may go through stages of becoming more or less political.

In a concluding chapter, the Black Muslim movement in the United States is taken as a case study to apply principles derived from general theories on millenialism. Apocalyptic dimensions are emphasized to show how--specifically in a racial situation--the conflict may take on a millenarian form and be expressed in deeply religious symbols and fantastic group projections.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research and thesis could only be initiated and completed thanks first of all to my supervisor, Professor Dr. Arthur K. Davis, who revitalized my interest in conflict theory and who stimulated my thinking and writing and then gently but persistently speeded up and guided me through the whole process of producing chapters in such a manner that my initially millenarian concepts and projections started crystallizing in a more-or-less acceptable form.

Secondly, I would like to express my thankfullness to Professor Dr. Carlo Caldarola who aroused my interest in sociology of religion in general and in millenarian movements in particular, always proved to have access to more relevant literature, and was able to give me many pertinent suggestions. A word of thanks to Dr. Mohsen who kept announcing throughout the research that time was passing by and that deadlines were approaching. Special thanks to Mrs. Susan McKeen who typed with great precision and full dedication from extremely rough drafts.

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them somehow adjust to my time-consuming interest in the millenarian phenomenon.

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CHAPTER I

MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS AND LEADERS

a) Introduction

Millenarian movements are an extra-ordinary kind of social movement where the whole process of group crystallization and mobilization during severe social malaise culminates in collective efforts at coping with and even initiating social change on terms formulated by the group engaged. The organizational mechanisms used and the revitalized belief system manifested during the millenarian process are all couched in old and/or new religious images, symbols and rituals. Because of the excessive modes of group behavior and because of the charismatic leadership as spell-bound followers turn into "true believers" and because of the frantic group mobilization, at times bordering on collective madness, the interpretation of millenialism has long focussed on the "erratic" and "ecstatic". Such aspects were assumed to be irrational. Consequently, the millenarian movements were mainly classified as forms of predominantly expressive rather than instrumental group behavior.

The aim of this thesis is to revise this interpretation by surveying recent literature on a wide variety of millenarian movements in different areas at various times, both past and present. The thesis also seeks to analyze some patterns of group behavior, indigenous leadership, and of ideology--as these relate to millenial group-formation. Finally, theories, models and approaches to the phenomenon of millenialism will be analysed to show their relevance to Community Development (CD) and its practitioners.

In the chapters following, a millenarian movement is envisioned as a road built by the people themselves to lift themselves out of societal malaise and stagnation. It is a hinterland or underclass syndrome, brought on by a dominant regime during rapid and stressful social change. Long overdue assimilation has not materialized. In such cases, a powerful majority or minority subordinates the other group, because they have access to all power, resources and above all to status. The subgroup is then deliberately cornered. Its societal survival is at stake.

This thesis will argue that in case of a millenarian movement, the metropolis versus hinterland syndrome is first of all social-psychological. It is deeply and abruptly perceived as deprivation; it is manifested in resentment, sudden inferiority feelings and acute frustration. The other variables such as lack of political power and of social-economic resources, are always interwoven with the social-psychological variable.

Metropolis and hinterland are taken here as symbols standing for hierarchical exploitation and oppression. To make this crystal clear from the beginning, "community" will refer to various forms of in-group feelings, not necessarily confined to such geographical entities as a specific city, town or region.

This thesis is about social movements, not necessarily about a specific place. Gemeinschaft will be taken directly from Toennies in its original meaning of kinship relations or shared identifications with a traditional society. Gemeinschaft is the emotional, primordial ties on which a vigorous social network is based, and by which intensive feelings of belonging and identifying with others are manifested.

To the bewildered outside observer, the millenarian movement appears as a sudden search for lost identity and for a rebirth of group assertiveness. The movement may seem to be a weird escapism, a disastrous detour actually leading to increased stagnation and oppression. It may even induce collective destruction after violence has broken out.

During the process of group mobilization, religion seems to be almost instinctively grasped by the group and its emerging leaders as a vehicle of orientation, projection, communication and organization. This is not done because religion is a last straw or an emergency group resource in the face of impending defeat.

At this critical stage of the game all other "normal" channels of protest and revolt are blocked off by the metropolis. The oppressed group's deep despair, total alienation ~~and~~ acute resentment may be seen as the main contributing factors in the rise of the millenarian movement.

However, the religiously stimulated counter-ideology--incisively termed "utopia" by Mannheim--is at the same time a revitalized base for the group whose survival is at stake. The group goes through a struggle to regain or to revise its threatened identity, and to re-capture a positive self-image.

Hans Mol's recent theoretical contribution to the study of religion, Identity and the Sacred, is highly relevant to this group phenomenon and to CD in general. The reweaving of the web--to use Wallace's profoundly evocative term--is not solely a reaction to attacks on the group's original identity. As Mol shows, these group remobilization processes are going on continuously. The sacred is the most natural and closest plateau from which any societal group can project and maintain itself. The sacred is a niche of shared identity.

Selected literature on millenarian movements indicates that millenialism can occur in any type of society, either so-called "traditional" or "modern". Highlighted in this thesis will be the most crucial components of Wallace's revitalization theory which hereby is recommended as mandatory reading for any CD facilitator. So are certain other classical studies on millenarian movements (see the attached Bibliography).

After we discuss major theoretical contributions to millenialism, causal variables, and stages millenarian movements typically go through, we shall turn to the concept of charismatic leadership. This appears to be highly relevant for local or indigeneous leadership--an element often assumed to be a basic component in CD.

Finally, the thesis will outline a case study of the Black Muslims where millenarian dimensions are emphasized. This has not before been done systematically in the existing literature on that particular movement. The example of the Black Muslims was deliberately chosen to illustrate how in a racial setting a conflict situation can easily take on apocalyptic dimensions without being understood by the dominant majority. By now, the Black Muslim movement has gone through several stages of development from a cluster of cults into a fully grown social movement. This makes it feasible to analyse in retrospect. Such analysis was impossible when Eric C. Lincoln and E. U. Essien-Udom wrote about the early stages of the Black Muslim movement.

b) The Study of Social Movements and Social Change

The study of social movements has remained an "underdeveloped" area in CD. When checking through CD journals it appears that analysis of social movements is not particularly suggested as a basic field of practical and theoretical concern. What does seem to be of great interest to CD practitioners is descriptive analysis of desirable, if not mandatory characteristics proven successful for CD facilitators. The type of training recommended focusses on techniques which can be distilled from general social scientific concepts.

This search for desirable characteristics and techniques tends to overlook the area of social movements, charismatic leadership and above all millenarian movements. When looking at both descriptive analysis and photographic illustrations of prophetic leaders in various modern religious movements given by leading theorists like Cohn, Lanternari, Sundkler, David Barrett, Barnet, Worsley, and in many other studies on African Independent Churches and sects, one wonders whether the exotic costumes and the dramatic ecstatic behavior and the group trances obvious from the descriptions and illustrations have not turned the so-called objective researcher away out of fear, lest he be identified himself as a prophet instead of as a professional community developer.

For a long time, interest among historians and sociologists has been centering on main stream developments in history and society. More recently, however, a new fervent interest in small movements, counterstreams, countercultures, minority sub-cultures, and cults and sects has been mushrooming. The respective ideologies of such movements have been analysed as having some bearing or occasionally a great impact on the mainstream. Social change is not always brought about by the majority or supraordinate group. Coser incisively demonstrated in his theoretical essay on this phenomenon that small counter movements and obscure sub-groups may--after initial failure and suppression--break through with great ideological innovation into the mainstream of society.

As far as theory is concerned, this thesis is based in considerable part on Marx, Weber, Durkheim and Toennies. But it can only encompass to a very limited degree some of their major contributing concepts. Marx's vision of social change, Weber's concept of charismatic leadership and his thesis on socio-economic change based on "religiösische Affinität", and his Protestant Ethic have had much influence on me. Moreover, Durkheim's enriching idea of "conscience collective" and the so deeply necessary continuing preservation of it during the process of transition from mechanical to organic society has stimulated my research. I mention here the interpretations of Durkheim's work by Anthony Giddens.

This thesis attempts to use some of the most essential concepts--what Nisbet calls idea-units--of the rich European sociological heritage, without entering the debate on whether Marx, Weber or Durkheim's respective theories are more or less applicable from an ideological perspective. I attempt to show that basic sociological concepts like class consciousness and conscience collective can be viewed as complementary, and can be applied to the same social movement in order to reach a fuller understanding of the complex set of variables at play. At the initial stage of the project, I was under the impression that this thesis could look at millenarianism briefly by applying Marx's concept of class consciousness. This proved too restraining an approach: it excluded other crucial elements of millenarianism, and it distorted the rich fabric of which all social movements, especially the millenarian ones, are made.

Weber implied at all times while coming to terms with social change that he was in dialogue with Marx. His own concept of Protestant Ethic was a counterthesis to Marx's vision of change. Compare what Barnet did in The Rise and Fall of an African Utopia, applying both concepts at the same time to the millenarian phenomenon in all its complexity and diversity.

Similarly, Toennies' and Durkheim's major contributions to social thought are, though related, a juxtaposition of ideas mostly antithetical. Toennies never seemed to imply the evolutionary optimism of Durkheim's view of societal development--as if Gemeinschaft would automatically be transformed into Gesellschaft. In Durkheim, there appears to be more of a definitive assumption--inherited from Comte and the 18th century School of Enlightenment--that there is a progressive societal development.

For understanding millenarianism and its crucial centerpiece, charismatic leadership, one must come to terms with these basic questions of evolutionary optimism and linear thinking. One must deal with the assumption that societies evolve increasingly from the so-called "sacred" into fully "secular" realms. This premise sees as end-stages of "Western development" where modern advanced industrialized societies experience complete secularization, where Gemeinschaft has evaporated, and

Gesellschaft has fully solidified; where the sacred has been banned from the mainstream of society and can only be found in isolated "backward" enclaves.

Precisely to avoid this kind of dangerously dichotomous thinking, this paper aims to use these rich sociological concepts by not putting them on a sequential continuum. Instead, our aim is to conceive of social development as a continuous process that itself is an ongoing juxtaposition of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. In that manner, Toennies originally did introduce the concepts--the one not necessarily excluding the other after a certain stage of development has been reached. Toennies did not use the term "aufheben" as Marx did along the Hegelian line of thinking: in terms of thesis, antithesis and new synthesis by Aufhebung.

> The objection has been raised, that these concepts represent, on the one hand, antithetical conceptional categories and, on the other hand, stages of historical development and that they also are mere classificatory concepts. The last of these is certainly not Toennies; meaning . . . to him Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are pure concepts of ideal types which do not exist as such in the empirical world. They cannot therefore be applied as classificatory concepts. Rather, they are to be regarded as traits, which in empirical social entities, are found in varying properties.[1]

In millenarian movements the oppressed or disprivileged are not necessarily one specific "class" but a segment within society of people who perceive loss of power and/or status--and primarily loss of status.

As discussed later in this paper, the concept of relative and absolute deprivation coined by Aberle in an incisive manner (modified, and even to a certain degree operationalized by Glock-Hammond) cannot explain or predict in absolute terms whether a millenarian movement will arise or not. But it can be useful when applied critically to measure and categorize degrees and dimensions of oppression, displacement and despair.

Marx's conceptualization of class consciousness can be fruitfully used if Marx is taken in his own context, that is, in the authentic perspective of his own time. To me, it appears that a comparison between Marx and Machiavelli's ideas about human nature when facing the forces of "fate" and about the risks at stake when individuals are engaged in a struggle with overpowering circumstances are related, even though there is a great distance between them in historical time. Too often Machiavelli has been misinterpreted, as if he claimed that Fortuna--a powerful metaphor for supernatural powers at work in human life--can make followers rally solidly and faithfully behind the leader. However this leader or ruler has to be supernatural himself in the ruthless application of force. When Machiavelli's concept of Fortuna is reduced to some form of supernatural brutal and blind force, his philosophy of human nature as completely and automatically subordinated to a capricious Goddess Fortuna is not done justice.

Similarly, Marx's life-long struggle to come to terms with class consciousness cannot be reduced to a mechanical concept. Machiavelli appeared perplexed by the ambiguity and elusiveness of irrational forces at play in politics. He tried in vain to throw a net around the many variables at work in critical circumstances of socio-political disintegration and ensuing disorder. Here his barely gained emancipation from traditional forces seems to falter and halt in front of overpowering forces beyond human control, beyond the boundaries of possible yet human intervention: namely by Machiavelli's ideal-typical super-powerful ruler who unfortunately after having applied all his power techniques and strategies in a truly revolutionary manner--would yet appear to be powerless himself to face final battle with Fortuna.

Likewise, Marx seems insecure when it comes to predicting and guaranteeing the rise of class consciousness, so crucial in his vision of revolutionary change to be brought about by the working class of the oppressed. Marx's concept ought not to be taken in a narrowly mechanical manner. This distorts Marx's basic vision of man and society; his struggle with the fate of human societies, his coming to terms with socio-economic variables of which Marx conceived in a truly revolutionary way--when compared to his own recent emancipation from earlier 18th and 19th century explanations. As in Machiavelli's case, Marx's new vision and emancipation from traditional concepts were innovative yet incomplete. Marx, too, was torn by the pros and contras of his own exciting vision.

c) The Study of Millenarian Movements

Millenarian movements have been misrepresented and underestimated in their "positive" impact in bringing about social change or accommodating a whole series of changes which could be abbreviated as the process of modernization.

> Traditional societies lack effective means for central decision making. Where their adversary is larger and better organized, their segmented forms of social organization cannot cope. Millenarian movements attempt to solve this "problem of scale".[2]

This was elaborated by T. O. Ranger, Connections Between 'Primary Resistance' Movements and Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa, pp. 437-453 and 631-641.

> . . . The prophet offers an alternative to traditional local leaders and preaches his message to new and ever larger social groups. The prophet who responds to a societal crisis may provide the only means for organizational innovation.[3]

What has been truly intriguing to the present writer is to ask to what degree millenarian movements are a phenomenon of past societies. Wilson, in a most impressive and profound argument, claims that millenarian movements are only typical for what he seems to describe as backward areas and enclaves of underdevelopment. As explained elsewhere, I intend to disagree with that by modifying this dichotomous manner of conceptualizing about traditional societies versus modern societies. One can pinpoint some of the definitive differences between these two societies; but maybe not in such absolute dogmatic, almost sectarian terms, as some social scientists tend to do. A great passion for a concept can endanger its "objective" application by the user!

> The conventional revolutionary generally emerges in less traditional societies where voluntary associations are already prevalent, and he has only to design another such organization, devoted to the forcible rearrangement of the political system.[4]

This leads to the question: which characteristics should be part of any definition of a modern society? For example, many sociologists have brought out the dimension and degree of voluntarism, as symptomatic of being "modern". Here a brief discussion of the history of such phenomena as revolt, rebellion and revolution would be appropriate. (Compare G. Ellul, Autopsy of Revolution, a profound historical analysis of medieval forms of revolt culminating at a later period in more organized forms of revolution like the great French Revolution of 1789.)

Mannheim's major theoretical contribution to analysing millenarian movements was his dichotomous differentiation between the strong ideology of the supra-ordinate group or class versus the lack of a strong ideology among the subordinate or oppressed class. This lack of a powerful ideology amongst the powerless was defined as "utopia" by Mannheim. Since this well known study appeared decennia ago, surprisingly little has been done to apply this concept of status quo defenders versus revolutionary discontented. Wallace called Mannheim a sociologist whose method of analysis was first of all anthropological, and he went on to summarize poignantly the radically different methodological and ideological approaches between European and American anthropologists. The latter, for a long period, paid little or no attention to groups with conflicting interests, each entrenched differently in their own positions of power and status.

> . . . building on a century of tradition of intense interest in the conflict of the interest groups, particularly the social classes, the European social scientist seems to be living in a world of mystically abstract intergroup dynamics, wherein social classes collide, plot and counter-plot, like vast shadows on a giant screen . . . but it is of utmost importance to the theory of culture and personality that anthropology incorporate, and use, British and European insight

> into the dynamic role of group loyalties, identifications, and interests, in determining the course of cultural change.[5]

> Exactly this conflict perspective was injected by Mannheim to grasp the social-political dynamics inherent to the phenomenon of millenarianism. 'In their mutual struggle according to the traditional view of Mannheim's school, a synthesis of the two world views will emerge to become the ideology of the dominant class in the next phase of the dialectical process'.[6]

The crux of the matter in any revitalization movement is to come up with a new, satisfying group identity against a sudden threat from outside--for example, imperialistic pressure exerted by an invading, colonizing, technologically "superior" power. A competition for identity, status and power starts. This competition is particularly sharply felt by the subordinate group, the powerless fraction, tribe or whole nation under threat. This situation may develop in an international setting, or it may occur within one country where two or more groups feel the pressure of ruthless competition for power, access to resources and above all, status.

At first, one of the competing so-called inferior groups may search for help from another sub-group. But this may lead to failure and rejection when the potential ally turns around and sides with the enemy force who is in total control by then. In this socio-economic and political and cultural cul-de-sac, an alliance with nobody--that is, complete autonomy for group self-renewal--may be the only way out of the total malaise. The revitalization movement is crystallizing. The whole social-political situation is constantly being redefined by the group from its own perspective of both despair and hope.

Here Karl Mannheim's subtle redefinition of the term "ideology" may become helpful. Against the ideology of the all powerful and all pervasive faction or force from outside, the group or nation under threat builds up its own morale in the broadest sense by coming up with a completely new explanation for the emergency situation of disparity and despair.

Mannheim suggested decades ago--still not theoretically worked out by later social scientists nor systematically operationalized--to call this sub-group ideology utopia, implying that in a millennial movement the whole projection is stimulated by an unbearable societal reality into a collective search for a better place to live. "Place" may mean a different societal reality altogether, or a different physical place--a new "fatherland" or "land without evil". (There are many instances among Indian tribes in Brazil.)

This group process of projecting passionately and intensively towards a better future is typical for many acculturation situations. A dilemma is faced by the whole group, class, segment or total society: its whole survival is at stake. They cannot possibly accept the novel culture because it implies that their own culture has outlived its usefulness. Their own identity is at stake. They need a neutral vehicle, not one tainted by the colors of the force already imposing itself on them. They need their own brandname, a new cultural framework to help them make the giant leap into change. They cannot simply copy what they need from the novel technology.

To forsake their own identity in a wholesale manner would mean committing group suicide. If one faction feels threatened by being increasingly left out from major access routes to power and status and goods, it has to get its own group image redone from its own roots. Then, during this revitalization process, it may feel more and more confident to add new elements into the rebuilt framework: crucial pillars to support the modified total structure.

> This is in fact what organization means and societies strive to maximize it by maximizing both order and complexity. But too many possibilities are already in the field, and when the orderliness of events diminishes, the only possibility for improvement lies in simultaneously simplifying the repertoire and insisting on regularity of performance. Such a procedure often carried out under the auspices of religion, constitutes a revitalization movement.[7]

During the process of a millenarian movement, an unbearable situation of societal disorganization is eased or completely overcome. Wallace describes groups caught in what he terms "triangular identity crisis and alliance situation". For example, the white southerners are caught in triangular identity dilemma: they feel rejected by northern whites, yet they cannot possibly ally themselves with southern black men since this would endanger their precarious identity. On the other hand, one could show how the black middle class in the north is caught in a similar identity dilemma. (Compare Black Bourgeoisie by Franklin Frazier.)

> The millenarian ideology often justifies the removal of the participants in the movement from the ordinary spheres of life. Indeed, this removal is often frequently not only social but spatial, whether it takes the form of withdrawal or of wandering. I would suggest that the deprivations which form the background for the movement not only involve the sense of blockage . . . which leads to resort to supernaturalism, but also the sense of a social order which cannot be reconstituted to yield the satisfactions desired. The millenarian ideology justifies the removal of the participants from that social order, by reassuring them that the order itself will not long continue, and frees them to indulge in fantasy about the ideal society, or to attempt to build it in isolation or through violent attempts against the existing order. Those who suffer from acute deprivation and cannot withdraw from the world can only constitute sects of the elect, or utilize devices to compensate for deprivation. The millenarian ideology justifies withdrawal, and that is its functional significance.[8]

In a few conclusive statements towards the very end of his study, Cohn[9] synthesizes general concepts from psychology, social-psychology, political science and history in order to come to terms with millenarianism. He suggests that his conclusions on millenarian movements seem identical to generalizations drawn from different areas and periods up to the present.

> . . . irrespective of the degree of social technological development or the type of social structure briefly, it would seem that when the existing structure of a society is undermined or devalued, the members of that society become less able to face calamity.[10]

Eric Hoffer[11] made the concept of "true believer" the main building bloc for contemporary social movements. Cohn used the identical term for the same phenomenon in the middle ages. Collective fantasies as surveyed by him were truly psychotic in their content and versions: megalomanias, vision of the real or imagined adversaries were a dominant and recurrent theme. Grotesque descriptions were over and again formed in the minds of people who had found themselves to be cut off from previously satisfying "normal" patterns of living, abruptly disoriented, deeply frustrated and intensely powerless. Cohn says that they were "harassed, hungry, frightened" (page 312). He assumes that extreme pressures and strains put on certain segments in medieval society--i. e. the lowest strata--did have severely distorting impacts on their perceptions of social, political and economic reality. What had been an isolated instance in the past of personal disorder --always present in each segment--now would burst into the open as collective obsessions with oppressive forces held responsible for all the misfortunes. Individual paranoia would now coalesce into group preoccupation with evil powers, manipulating whole groups into misfortune and inflicting disasters and defeats upon the powerless and oppressed. An innovative group myth was being built up and feverishly accepted by an ever widening circle of followers who had not been paranoid themselves in the first place. Only a few were naturally myth-makers, but many got on to the bandwagon and became true believers by an intensive conversion process.

> . . . it will attract plenty of idealists and romantics, as well as ordinary careerists and, for that matter, criminals too.[12]

Acute anxieties and a sudden great fear, initially perceived only on an individual scale were at the base of group crystallization. Here Cohn manages to avoid the pitfalls of analysing social movements from the narrow base of individual psychology. He purposely circumvents psychological reductionism. It is important to notice that Cohn applies social-psychological explanations as later elaborated and systematized by Hoffer, de Grazia and Harold R. Isaacs, Gusfield, Banks and Turner and Killian.

In Political Anomie, de Grazia focusses on socialization as both a social-psychological and extremely political process: how identification with the father figure becomes a way of multiple salvation out of anxiety and crisis, to overcome Angst (compare paintings by Edvard Munch and analysis by Kierkegaard). Harold Isaacs in Idols of the Tribe describes in a fascinating first chapter "The House of Muumbi" the network of natural relations a person is born and grows into during the whole maturation process, to such a high degree that it becomes a niche for life: the center of feverishly strong identification (also compare Mol: The Sacred and Identity).

Both Cohn and Burridge[13] arrive at similar explanations about the potential causes of millenarian movements: the overriding factors are intensive and abrupt changes generating profound social upheaval. Burridge lists four main variables: (1) the abruptness of the changes; (2) the sudden forceful introduction of a money economy; (3) status inconsistency; and (4) cases where a whole civilization is dying.

In a similar way, Cohn also singled out: (1) too many socio-economic changes all at once causing severe dislocations and an acute sense of deprivation. Many may become suddenly uprooted; a few getting extremely wealthy in a short time (compare Durkheim's related concepts on suicide as indicative of the degree of social disorder and malaise); (2) disintegration of kinship which will immediately generate emotional, physical and material vacuum; (3) a whole society is suddenly perceived to be inferior while being subjected to an invading force; (4) several sources of authority are undermined by novel powers: a disorienting process of modernization within the medieval context. As Cohn elaborated: the traditional authority of king or pope may be losing appeal and the whole society is disintegrating. (5) A clash between two cultures may bring into question basic assumptions about the society and the whole nature of the cosmos. Intergenerational differences may add to the acuteness of the crisis.

There seem to be valid reasons to suggest that from a variety of research done on contemporary totalitarian movements and from the earlier research on millenarian movements in medieval and early modern times, more general conclusions could be made as to what dimensions most of these movements have in common. Cohn too, like Barkum[14] and Burridge, stresses the suddenness of the calamities inflicted upon societies which then are perceived by the members or segments of that society as to be caused by supernatural powers: by unseen or unknown agencies.

> . . . plague or famine, gross inflation of mass unemployment, a rapid increase of population beyond what the economy can support--may produce an emotional disturbance so widespread and acute, such an overwhelming sense of being exposed, cast out and helpless, that the only way in which it can find effective relief is through an outburst of paranoia, a sudden collective and fanatical pursuit of the millennium.[15]

> . . . extravagant hopes, even when not backed by actual power, is likely to generate a most reckless daring. For the hopeful can draw strength from the most ridiculous sources of power--a slogan, a word, a button. No faith is potent until it is also faith in the future; unless it has a millennial component. So, too, an effective doctrine as well as being a source of power, it must also claim to be a key to the book of the future.[16]

These movements may end up becoming fully political and the impact can be truly revolutionary to testify the outstanding cases of revolutionary upheavals of grandiose --or at times rather grotesque proportions--like the Taborites in Bohemia and the "Heavenly City" dictatorship of the Munsterites, established with violence and maintained with ruthless power. More recent totalitarian movements showed the same hunger for power by the "true believers" who applied modern efficient and rather sophisticated techniques of power control, propaganda, terror and massive warfare to maintain the paranoid myth of collectively pursued megalomania.

Here the social scientist may wonder where--at which stage of the power and propaganda game the small circle of true believers degenerate into power fanatics who cynically will pursue their self-imposed millennium ad absurdum, engulfing a whole nation into aggression on a world-wide scale. Cohn as a historian does not hypothesize in abstracto, nor does he venture into sweeping generalizations about millenarian and all sorts of related social movements. This becomes apparent in the last chapters of his study when he focusses on millenarian mythology in the various regions of the disparate and disunited German Empire in late medieval times. The fantasizing ecstacy, vibrant among a variety of German authors of that period in history, adding to the millenarian tradition, conveys both strong anxieties and fervent hopes. The myth about the "Teutonic" tribes now lost in disunity, oppression and humiliation becomes increasingly more poignant while gaining political overtones: the Teutonics have always been superior and were put by God himself in the centre of world history . . . They will of course be reassigned their original rightful supraordinate position and all possible power and glory will be bestowed again upon the Teutonic race soon . . . The similarity between the late medieval powerful German millenarian ideology--concocted out of earlier traditions and embellished and made more persuasive with convincingly concrete details taken from later German history--and Hitler's very recent ideology is undeniable. It is frightening to discover by systematic historical and sociological research that groups or whole nations can be turned on by this sort of mythology which is a form of masterful propaganda for and an absolute command to collective action.

A simple "great leader" theory is of no explanatory use, however.[17] A whole complex set of variables is at work when millenarian ideologies are in the making. As it will be analysed here soon, most social scientists will acknowledge the "true prophet" at the early beginnings of the movement, but not without accounting for the existing great readiness among the potential followers.

To term these movements millenarian is not so much a matter of interpretation, as these movements do take on a variety of expressive forms, depending to a high degree on the original socio-cultural milieu. Incidentally, most nativistic movements in Melanesia are of the cargo type because of prevalent strong belief in ancestor cults. This was brought out most impressively by Worsley in his analytical survey of that area. However, one should add: even though most nativistic movements in Africa are not of the cargo type, in southern and eastern parts of that continent many cargo cults have appeared on the scene with the same symptoms: obsessive preoccupation with how to obtain the gadgets from the western colonizing power. One should add here a complex set of factors like the missionary impact in general and the various denominations or sects practising their missionary "callings", for example the differential effects and outcomes of the missionary actions as brought about by Presbyterian, Pentecostal churches or the Jehovah's Witnesses. All good intentions put aside here, the missionary message was invariably perceived very differently by the peoples it was brought to with such great emphasis and perseverance. Moreover, I feel, the Judeo-Christian concept of time, the linear finalistic manner of thought was a disruptive factor in itself upsetting the traditional way of perceiving time as it comes, not manipulating and subordinating the natural flow of time to abstract goals and ideals. The dimension of how time is conceived is crucial to grasp what so-called "modernization" does to traditional ways of thinking and acting.

Of course, the socio-cultural ambiance of each continent and even each area and region may lead to different expressive forms amongst these collective indigeneous agitations. On a modest scale as in this thesis, there is no room to do full justice to the rich diversity of nativistic movements. Also, the specific term "millenarian" may be restricted to some movements because to define all nativistic movements as millenarian would put arbitrary constraints and limitations on the phenomenon of acculturation and revitalization. The latter ones are movements which express strong expectations about the nearby millennium which is conceived of in immediate, earthly, fully concrete, now and here terms. The passionate vigor, the extraordinary enthusiasm dominant in these millenarian movements makes them stand out differently from a maybe less complex nativistic movement, where millenarian expectations are not pushing the group endeavours beyond the boundaries of the real and concrete.

The millenarian imagination could also be treated as a variable by itself because the collectively imagined and stimulated tension between what the group experiences as present and what it feverishly wants as a future--i. e. an imminent one--may become a catalyst for immediate social action. This strongly held group illusion about the better future and the final time--the imminent beginning of a new world and a new future for the oppressed group--to be redeemed extremely soon--becomes a force on its own: social dynamics, even social dynamite. The group may become so carried away by this powerful illusion of imminent redemption that members--under prophetic leadership which both intensifies and coordinates the group restlessness--start taking their fate into their own hands.

Religiously inspired and prophetically magnified eschatological expectations now become a blueprint for immediate group action (compare Ellul on this type of medieval outburst of chiliasm). The enormous gap between illusion and reality, future and present is instantly and efficiently bridged. Out of a nightmarish dream the group under threats from all sides waken up to defend whatever is left of its own belief system. Collective emotions are running high, and out of traditional behavior repertoire some satisfying means of expression are grasped and some new methods taken from the alien culture are added, not only to cope with the rapid transition but to help bring about the so feverishly wanted big changes for the tribe or group.

This process of group mobilization is very crucial, because it broadens our concept of religion. After having gone through a recent phase in sociological thinking where religion was almost discarded as a factor altogether, the dimension of religion is now being reintroduced again as a building stone holding the group or society together --even though in so-called modern times religion may have taken on different shapes and channels. (See The New

Religiousness" by Charles Glock and Robert Bellah.)

> . . . while belief in a personal God is on the decline, a new self-awareness and spiritual sensitivity are finding expression in the lives of large numbers of people, especially among the young. There is to be seen a quickening of conscience as the continuing violence in national and international affairs, poverty in the midst of plenty, racial strife and oppression, and a host of other problems. . . . We chose religion as the strategic point of entry into the question of contemporary cultural transformation because we thought it potentially the most profound level of change.[18]

The concept of religion as a "sacred canopy" is being revitalized itself in very recent sociological and anthropological studies.

Also revived was the traditional debate on religion as either a conservative force, legitimating societal status quo and holding back social change, or religion as a radicalizing force, generating social change and coming up with meaningful explanations for radical social action. To put it more succinctly: on the one hand religion can be viewed as a supportive and necessarily legitimating framework that permeates all societal thinking and acting. On the other hand, religion can go beyond this expressive function and become from a supportive frame, a radically enabling force, initiating action, a dynamic generator because it has become fully instrumental. Religion in some cases may help people to ease their frustrations--the dimension so well sensed by Marx and Engels, to find meaningful explanations--but no solutions--for appalling situations of crisis and despair. (The Snakehandlers in the Appalachian mountains could be quoted as a case of a pacifying and tension-releasing form of religion.[19])

However, religion may also bring the group in despair into concrete concerted action to prevent or stop disastrous "development" imposed from outside and to build up a new more action-centered framework. From legitimating afterthought, it may leap into complex social action, initiating changes and accommodating side effects in a satisfying manner. This can happen only after the symbolic universe has been modified and made to fit new circumstances, even more, made to initiate radical action, to implement the big change for the group right now. Here millenarianism becomes a form of condensed, intensified religion, pulling past, present and future into one and the same time. It becomes a socio-political fever: it has then become truly revolutionary.

d) Is Millenarianism a Religion of the Oppressed or a Mechanism Applied Deliberately to bring about Social Change? Can it be Both?

The title of an excellent historical survey by Lanternari (Religion of the Oppressed); and the title of an incisive article in History and Society, ("Military

Machinery in Millenarian Movements")--may be misleading. However, the general descriptive title used by Sylvia Thrupp for a collection of relevant papers given at the conference on millenarian movements is realistic: Millenarian Dreams in Action. It epitomizes the revolutionary potentials always present in the millenarian phenomenon. Some movements may escape into religious myth-building and stay on that plateau. Functionalist explanations have been used to analyse Negro cults and sects: forms of escapism to relieve stress, despair and deprivation. (See Frazier and G. R. Wilson, Park and others who claim that--

> Negro religion in America is little more than an adaptation of European Christianity to the American Negro's need to compensate for social, physical and economic conditions in America . . . [20])

The debate on millenarianism centers on whether it is pure or mostly escapism, or whether it is social and political action by manipulation of religious dynamics. The latter interpretation puts the charismatic millenarian leadership on the ambiguous level of Machiavellian-styled manoeuvring. For instance, the Taiping Rebellion is particularly interesting to students of millenarian movements and revolutions.[21] The crucial point in this case is--how much of this movement was embedded in the authentic Chinese tradition of acceptable forms of revolt, and how much was introduced--as brand new elements taken from the Bible and other western sources to manoeuvre the people into action? Apparently during the rise of the movement itself, many deliberate choices were made by the leaders. They selected only specific elements from the biblical message and left out others. For example, all of the Pentateuch was readily absorbed and not much else from the Old Testament, but many parts of the New Testament were adapted.

The movement tried to enlist ethnic consciousness for its cause: to revitalize the authentic Chinese tradition. Purposely selected aspects of the alien western culture were added. Confucianism was mostly practical, non-revolutionary and conservative in nature. The Taiping organizers claimed they were in direct communication with God. Next, they very systematically distilled, from parts of the Bible, mainly from the New Testament, a workable eschatology.

The great visionary behind it all was Hung Hsui-ch'uan, who had failed to pass the administration entrance examinations several times. He was a marginal man who could not at all prove himself in the new colonial administrative system. Hung then professed that he was receiving hallucinations and that he was the chosen leader-to-be. His calling was to restore China and overthrow the Manchurian Ching dynasty.

It is interesting to make a special note of the fact that Hung studied both administrative and theological topics. He had actually been tutored by an American missionary while at the same time trying to study administrative methods. Hung was employed for a short time as a cathechist and preacher. A helper and cousin of Hung--from a different province where already a revolt had failed--awoke his interest in politics.

Sylvia Thrupp has suggested that Christian missionary efforts may bring to the surface enormous spiritual anxieties. It seems that the Taiping leaders did attempt consistently to instill strong feelings of sinfulness in their followers. Hence the belief in atonement was indoctrinated in order to make the transition into a theocratic state a natural sequence of events. The aims were secular reforms, but couched in religious terms and millenarian imagery. Religion was used to raise revolutionary consciousness.

To return to my short introductory remarks about Marx at the beginning of this thesis: Marx was struggling to come to terms with the revolutionary situation. His continuous search was: when and how would the revolution crystallize? In the Taiping case, enormous secular discontent had been building up over long periods of time. However revolt was not crystallizing until millenarian expectations rose to the foreground and added impetus to revolutionary sentiments. Religion was the final catalyst but in this case not just surfacing by itself. There was conscious use of religion as potentially revolutionary material, and there was a sincere effort to revitalize authentic non-revolutionary Chinese elements.

Burridge goes to great length to emphasize the spiritual dimensions present in any millenarian movement.

> . . . a moral dilemma implies dissonances in basic assumptions about power. These can be seen in stress and strains in societal relations and are particularly expressed in the prestige system in terms of which the worth of man is measured, integrity earned, and redemption gained.[22]

There are also participants in the movement who are in for quick gains and personal advancement. For these matters they have to search for legitimation. Here Weber's thesis on the Protestant Ethic can be relevant: a renewed framework, a rescued and revitalized religious base with which the individual can identify during acute crises stemming from rapid manifold changes, which are experienced as a total societal cataclysm.

If successfully carried through, a millenarian movement may facilitate the group's transition from the old symbolic universe to a new one. Millenarianism, precisely because it is so profoundly religious, may lead to and accommodate modernization. It can more efficiently prepare the participants for ensuing concrete social action. It can ease the transition and make the members feel comfortable with their drastically changed world. It can open up wider horizons and help the participants to cope with new forms of power, status and social organization. As a vehicle of social change, a millenarian movement may give the participants a reassuring rationale and necessary skills to cope with modernization. As a model of social change it may be more explanatory than for example communication theory or other highly technical explanations. Perhaps only under charismatic leadership--which is a mutually spiritual relationship--can the impact of the money economy and its quantitative calculating mechanism be adapted to a revitalized group morale.

Marxian analysis has always brought out convincingly the group-unifying process; how members of the movement get prepared for concrete social and political action, although it was at times criticized for so doing. Burridge's non-Marxian interpretation comes to the same conclusion here as Worsley's.[23] Also, Cohn[24] claims that in many instances the millenarian leaders may add dynamics and unity to an already existing social unrest: that the millennium as conceived by the participants may generate social action which had not yet reached the crystallization point.

To return to Mannheim's theoretical differentiation between ideology and utopia: the disenfranchised who do not have the supraordinate ideology or who reject it, recreate their own symbolic universe by nurturing millenarian visions and by projecting their own improved socio-economic future into an imminent present. This interpretation may be relevant for the social dynamics necessary for successfully coping with change, or with the whole process of modernization.

Adas[25] qualifies one of Cohn's leading themes: his emphasis on terrestrial imminence. He prefers to term the millenarian projection a blending of the material and spiritual, but never completely imminent. Cohn may also have overemphasized the role of supernatural interference. In the millenarian movements analysed by Adas there is a definitive call to concrete action for the participants. Initiatives have to be taken, the millennium can be prepared, there is no time for passivity, for faithful waiting; there is no destruction of property either, nor stoppage of regular work.

e) An Ideal-Typical Case: The Iroquois Under Handsome Lake

A millenarian movement among the Iroquois, started by the prophet leader Handsome Lake in 1699, appears to be an ideal-typical case which can illustrate well some highlights of a successful millenarian movement leading up to authentic community development and a satisfactory manner of coping with modernization.

Revitalization or nativistic movements are collective attempts to revive certain elements of a group's culture that are threatened with destruction by the culture and the technology of a conquering invading power. The movement may come up with a set of rigid prescriptions and mixed new and old taboos, while a new synthesis is being formed by group efforts. Group creativity comes into the picture here. It seems to me that from this perspective of collective yet initially passive anxiety transforming itself into active joint creativity, a new insight can be gained concerning rapid social change and group acculturation.

The clash between two cultures was at the roots of the Handsome Lake movement. Inevitably, the invading culture was perceived as superior, if only because of its powerful new technological features.

Immediately a pervasive socio-cultural malaise set in among the native people under stress and threats from the invaders and their gadgets. These European gadgets are looked upon with great respect and envy at first. Later, resentment and hatred crystallize in the subordinate group. Humiliation and a previously not experienced feeling of collective inferiority (mixed with some sort of barely hidden admiration and suspicion) seemed to the over-run natives to be a high price to pay for these gadgets. Yet those inferiority feelings remained mixed with a barely hidden admiration for the gadgets. Ambivalence was the name of the game, and ambivalence facilitates over-reactions toward both the old and the new, in sudden sequences.

The gadgets however, remain in extremely high demand among the tribe or country caught in the colonization or modernization process. The gadgets come to be perceived both as the real thing to get at whatever price, and as the symbol of superior power and secret knowledge of the invaders/colonizers. Magical control may be ascribed to the colonial representatives. Tensions are building up; after all colonization or modernization is not much of an option, it imposes itself. The conflict is climaxing. The natives are frantically searching for ways to fight back and yet get hold of those gadgets seen as all-powerful and magical.

Elements felt to be most suitable for this emergency situation, taken from the existing cultural framework, are revived, over-emphasized and magnified beyond their original meaning. New elements are borrowed from the oppressive culture, often very purposely selected for efficient manipulation by the group in collective self-defence. Out of the existing repertoire of rituals, ceremonies and prescribed group and individual behavioral patterns, just a few are synthesized with elements taken intuitively from the dominant culture. This frantic search for new meanings and new methods to cope with the bewildering changes forced upon the group from outside is the crystallization point of the nativistic or millenarian movement.

In short: a specific form of social movement is most likely to develop in cases of sudden and severe cultural clashes with their ensuing rapid socio-economic and political changes.

There is an underlying rationale to each movement. The group and the prophet leader in constant and intensive interaction choose some customs from the present and past indigeneous culture. If successful, a new synthesis may come up after a tumultous and restless period. This synthesis blends more or less harmoniously native and foreign elements. It is a grandiose cultural phenomenon. At first puzzling, then alarming, the societal crisis has been brought under control. A new "sacred canopy" has been built to accommodate the drastically changed society.

So it was with the deeply successful movement amongst the Iroquois under its prophet Handsome Lake in

1699. His followers became "true believers" again, and overcame stagnation in a new "revitalized" sense of belonging, pride and actual community development. Some other surrounding tribes did not manage to get out of the social malaise. They became more and more disorganized and disoriented; witness the increasing quarrelling, infighting, drinking, witchcraft and adultery. We see a range of alarming symptoms indicating a high degree of social disorder, bordering on total break-down of the conscience collective.

The analysis of this particular revitalization movement becomes most insightful when the focus is on acculturation or "modernization" as a process generated by the group itself. This means a form of community development under circumstances extremely critical for the threatened community.

Inkeles' study of modernization (focussing on individuals within the total structure coping with modernization) may appear incomplete when compared to the perspective of a revitalization movement. Specifically, for community development this angle should never be left out of the total perspective on modernization. This does not mean to disregard the aspects brought out so impressively by Inkeles, but to underline that both perspectives should be applied to gain a fuller understanding of social change and acculturation. Both for analytical precision and for progress in the theory of Community Development, the study of millenarian movements could become an eye opener in many ways.

The twin perspectives of social movement and social change--interwoven as an autonomous group process with its own social dynamics and its self-designed and symbolic framework--is an exciting angle to study tribes, groups, classes, segments or whole societies coping with rapid changes and profound societal disorder. "Community" gains here an intensified meaning, transcending visible material boundaries and encompassing invisible but far stronger bonds that hold groups and whole societies together. Whether millenarian movements are often forerunners or not, of nationalistic movements is for some theorists still a debatable question. In some cases and in some geographical areas this hypothesis appears rather plausible (see Kedourie). However, not all millenarian movements gain that degree of coherence and continuity. One theoretical construct predicting that these movements are most likely to branch out into large scale nationalistic movements accommodating social changes and easing modernization on a national level will not fit all revitalization movements.

It is not the intention of this paper to reach out for theoretical generalizations of universal proportions. Some theorists on millenarian movements have definitively been attempting grandiose models to fit all social movements and forms of social change categorized as millenarian movements or religious protest movements. To me, this appears a somewhat millenarian effort itself, not uncommon amongst social scientists in the past or the present. However this paper only aims at some general conclusions about millenarian movements at the intermediate level as suggested by Merton.

Basically all these movements--revitalizing, cargo cults, millenarian, nativistic, revitalistic--are one and the same general category: frantic group efforts to come to terms if possible with drastic changes imposed from outside, mostly but not solely. (See Wallace, Thrupp, Barkum, Burridge, Cohn, Adas, Barrett, Talmon, Sundkler)

This thesis will also pay special attention to the fact that the changes are sudden. The disaster type of impact on the existing societal structure and symbolic framework is in my view of crucial importance. This aspect was not fully emphasized in a systematic manner until Barkum made it into the main theme of his analysis. Also Burridge underlines this dimension rather well in his study by categorizing the suddenness of social change as a variable all by itself. He beautifully epitomized the abruptness of rapid social changes in the metaphor of an airplane suddenly landing amongst the tribe, causing general cultural malaise and generating the beginning of a counter movement against the invaders' overpowering impact.

f) The Aims of This Thesis in Brief

The main thrust of the thesis will be a discussion of various interpretations and possible models or theories of millenarian movements. Specific attention will be given to these movements, their rise and fall, their social dynamics and leadership characteristics, and how such phenomena can be of great relevance to community development. Towards the end of an analytical and critical survey of these religious protest movements from a mainly CD perspective, the Black Muslims will be briefly analysed as an example of a radical religious counter movement, in order to show by one case study how intricately social change and religion are interwoven in this type of movement for change.

Our special focus will be on dimensions of charismatic leadership and social dynamics bound to generate fantastic millenarian projections which may crystallize in concrete collective actions. In the case of the Black Muslims, attention will be given to how the black sociocultural heritage necessarily had to be revitalized in order to raise the oppressed group morale, to bring about a collective positive self-image and to call for a splendid redemptive future solely for the blacks, starting immanently. This miraculous transformation of group image and morale was done in the black ghettoes in the 1960's in one of the most effective revitalization movements of our time. Unfortunately, far too little attention has been given to this movement, because it was apparently perceived as an embarrassing phenomenon for the usually more optimistic interpretation American Whites have of the "existing freedom and equal opportunity" in their own society.

With regard to ethnicity and poverty, race and class, multiculturalism and social stratification--one of the major obstacles in the American sociological tradition has been the fallacy of functionalism, its lack of historical perspective, its failure to come to terms with social change, and its misplaced but fervent optimistic belief in progressive linear "development" and "equilibrium". Gouldner's announced crisis in modern sociology has long since come, and its intensity may yet increase. The models built up among optimistic so-called "liberal" North American sociologists trained in the functionalist school proved suddenly to falter. The hypothesis of increasing assimilation automatically leading up to full integration proved false. New prophets of a completely different category, more radically and realistically oriented appeared on the scene: Elijah Mohammed and above all Malcolm X.

Throughout the Middle Ages runs a persistent pattern of social agitation religiously inspired. Some social scientists attempt to show that this form of social upheaval and collective primitive protest is a phenomenon of the past. Cohn, the discoverer and expert on medieval millenarian movements, suggests that only a few civilizations have been unpropitious to revolutionary chiliasm. One could cite the ancient Indian culture shaped by Hinduistic philosophy: spiritual climate and socio-cultural ambiance were not particularly prone to development of millenarian movements. From surveying the extensive literature now abundantly available in this field, one can but conclude that almost everywhere in any time, the millenarian revolt, even revolution, can potentially occur in any crisis of abrupt disaster and total despair.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Rudolf Herberle, Toennies, Community and Society Concepts, pp. 146-147. Also compare: Ferdinand Toennies, Ferdinand Toennies on Sociology: Pure, Applied and Empirical, translated and edited, Wener J. Cahnman and Rudolf Herberle (Chicago: University Press, 1971).

[2] Michael Barkum, Disaster and the Millennium (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 26.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Antony Wallace, Culture and Personality (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 130-131.

[6] Antony Wallace, Religion: An Anthropological Perspective (Random House, 1966), pp. 131-132.

[7] Ibid., pp. 214-125.

[8] David Aberle, "A Note on Relative Deprivation" in Millenarian Dreams in Action, ed. Sylvia Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 214-125.

[9] Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (Revised Edition, Oxford University Press, 1970).

[10] Ibid., p. 312.

[11] Eric Hoffer, The True Believer (New York: Perennial Library, 1966).

[12] Cohn, op. cit., p. 312.

[13] K. Burridge, New Heaven, New Earth. A Study of Millenarian Activities (Toronto: 1969).

[14] Barkum, op. cit.

[15] Cohn, op. cit.

[16] Hoffer, op. cit., p. 18.

[17] Compare Pieter Geyl, Napoleon: For or Against (Penguin Books, 1949).

[18] Charles Glock and Robert Bellah, The New Religious Consciousness (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

[19] M. Lewis, S. E. Kobak and L. Johnstone, Family, Religion and Colonialism in Central Appalachia, paper given for American Anthropological Association (1972). N. L. Gerrard, "Churches of the Stationary Poor in South Appalachia," in Change in Rural Appalachia, Implications for Action Programs, ed. John D. Photiadia and H. K. Schwarzweller. R. Coles, "God and Rural Poor," in Psychology Today (June, 1972). N. L. Gerrard, "Serpent Handlers of West Virginia," in Transaction (St. Louis: Washington University, May, 1968), pp. 22-28. W. L. Barre, "Snake Handling Cult of American South West," in Explanations in Cultural Anthropology, ed. H. Ward (1964).

[20] A. H. Fauset, Black Gods of the Metropolis (Philidelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944).

[21] Compare S. Thrupp's "Millenarian Aspects of the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864)," in Millenarian Dreams in Action, ed. S. Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 70-79.

[22] Burridge, op. cit., p. 163.

[23] See discussion of Burridge and Worsley in Chapter II.

[24] See discussion of Cohn.

[25] M. Adas, Prophets of Rebellion, "Millenarian Protest Movements Against the European Colonial Order" (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE ON MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS

a) Predetermining Variables in Comparative Analysis: A Holistic Approach Suggested by Wallace and Burridge.

Most millenarian movements have at their core a redemptive process that engages a community of people, tribesmen, city dwellers or rural segments of the population who acutely perceive their deprivation. Alarmed by their inferior position and/or sudden lack of esteem, the group in crisis abruptly comes to realize that all members are cut off from the mainstream of society, power, resources and status. They experience deep anxiety about their powerlessness and inferior position; they feel rejected. A great variety of predetermining variables is possible depending on which time in past or present, which type of society, which geographical area, which general cultural and socio-economic framework.

To discuss all possible types of millennialism is a real challenge. To classify all forms of millenarian movements into an all-encompassing model means leaving the realm of the possible and venturing into model-building for its own sake. There are huge differences among the various millenarian phenomena, depending on the societal context.

This thesis hopes to show that millenarian movements may potentially arise in all types of societies, sub-societies and regions, amongst certain classes or non-classes. Such movements may arise from existing social movements, or they may prepare groups for a wider type of social movement at a later stage.

Historians like Cohn, Hobsbawn, Lanternari, Barkum and anthropologists like Worsley, Sundkler, Barret and Adas have accepted the challenge to project a more general framework beyond the boundaries of their own area of specialized research. Such a theoretical approach --always a risk-taking leap into the abstract--invariably has enriched our understanding of the millennium, more so than very specialized and highly detailed studies of one movement. Yet it has also entailed some unbalanced conclusions which can only be corrected by more specialized research.

As matters now stand, medium-range theories appear to be the most promising method. Within a certain socio-cultural area and period in time, a comprehensive ideal-type in Weber's terms can be developed, based on results from detailed studies done in the field. Wallace, Talmon, Barkum and Burridge went beyond the realm of medium-range theorizing by attempting a more universal model or descriptive analysis. Lanternari mainly restricted himself to a profound historical survey of various movements. Barkum aimed at a more universal theoretical concept in his interdisciplinary approach towards the disaster factor in millenarian movements. His critical analysis of movements and their interpretations is highly illuminating, especially his final chapters on problems of causality, which factors are predetermining, and in which kind of societies millenarian movements seem most likely to arise.

Burridge analyzes in detail a few typical movements and then projects a very broad framework which knits millenarian dimensions into a Gestalt similar to Wallace's earlier condensed framework. Burridge appears to include more concrete factors; he goes far beyond the predominantly social-psychological matrix of Wallace. His study is seminal because of the rich theoretical contributions in the last chapters, where he comes up with broad generalizations. These are based on comparative analysis--about access to power, loss of status and collective moral assumptions. These assumptions have to be reordered and transformed in times of sudden great societal crises.

If Barkum should be given credit for having advanced our theoretical conceptualization about disaster and community, then Burridge deserved equal praise for having enriched our theoretical endeavors concerning millenarian movements. His analysis reaches a climax when he touches upon the essence of millennium: crystallization of the communal spirit which transcends the material factors of socio-economic deprivation, of collective craving for power, and wealth, of group agitations about status incongruency. Burridge opens up new perspectives on communal regeneration in a Gestalt perspective.

Both Barkum and Burridge incorporate into their analysis the classical sociological tradition of Marx, Weber, Durkheim and Toennies without aligning themselves with one of these specific theories. Barkum contributes to our understanding of Marx's class consciousness by analysing in depth the pre-millenarian conditions. He singles out disaster and repetitive defeat. What type of disaster is most likely to prepare the soil for the millenarian spirit, and in which type of societal setting? A modified concept of "class consciousness" could be distilled from his work, and new insights--gained from the focus on the rise of millenarianism--could be made relevant to community development.

The strength of Burridge's work is his conceptualization of the millennium as a Gestalt or pattern. He critically analyses the shortcomings in some Marxian studies of millenarian movements which tend to overemphasize the socio-economic and political factors as solely predetermining. Actually, one would prefer to put this differently from Burridge: socio-economic and political factors can hardly be overestimated since they were and still are often understated in routine functionalist research. However, Burridge should be given credit for coming to terms in one concise framework with power, status, multiple deprivation and at the same time with other elements transcending the concrete and tangible, namely, human endeavors of moral and spiritual group-regeneration.

Like Wallace, Burridge makes use of the Gestalt idea to attain a holistic approach encompassing at least potentially all human dimensions present in societal reality. (Compare Hans Mol on continuous efforts to reinforce the identity, to keep a satisfying 'niche', a place to stand, so basic to group identification and objectification.) Whereas Wallace remains within the self-imposed constraints of his specific focus, the social-psychological and anthropological realms, Burridge steps beyond these man-made boundaries of one field. His framework is truly interdisciplinary. He shows the limits of Marx' class consciousness when dealing with millenarian movements, and he pursues this argument by a critcial survey of leading Marxian studies on millenarianism.

Burridge grasps the impact on people's thinking and acting when access to power is unilaterally controlled, when there is abrupt drop in status, and when deprivation is all-pervasive. By condensing several aspects of the millenarian movements, taken from different periods and locations, his study becomes most insightful. If, in many ways the metropolis versus hinterland theory could be termed an updated, more versatile and sophisticated version of Marx's original model of exploitation, then Burridge's synthesis could be called a qualitative leap forward in theorizing about millenarian movements and factors of deprivation.

Yet I feel that Burridge may have understated the explanatory possibilities of the Marxian model. Burridge starts his explanation with a critical analysis of the social, economic and political variables included in his model. Here his construct runs parallel to the metropolis versus hinterland thesis. He then adds the dimension of charisma and moral group-mobilization in a Gestalt synopsis: the communal spirit takes form in collective activities to rescue whatever possible of the socio-cultural framework under attack.

Burridge does not specifically apply or mention the metropolis versus hinterland (overclass versus underclass) thesis, but his assumptions are identical. Deliberate use of the term metropolis and hinterland could have in itself some explanatory advantages, because the two terms are evocative and highly relevant to grasp development versus underdevelopment, specifically when analysing forms of exploitation in a colonial or imperialistic setting, or in any highly centralized and bureaucratic context. The thesis itself has become--par excellence--one of the best theoretical vehicles to come to grips with contemporary forms of underdevelopment: the whole syndrome of exploitation by a "metropolis". This phenomenon is not only rampant in the Third World, but also within the so-called developed world. For example, forms of blatant exploitation can be found in regional disparities, urban ghettoes, rural enclaves.

These striking metaphors of hinterland and metropolis may also turn into a disadvantage at the explanatory level. For example, are millenarian movements solely to be explained from the metropolis versus hinterland perspective? This is a most challenging question. If applied in a mechanical manner, this approach would reduce millenarianism to another case of underdevelopment and perceived deprivation; all millenarian movements then could be classified under the heading of deprivation. Yet this may not do full justice to the phenomenon itself.

In his endeavor to conceive of millenarianism as communal movements under charismatic leadership to regenerate their own "conscience collectives", Burridge appears to converge the focusses of Marx, Durkheim, Weber and Toennies into an innovative synthesis.

To zero in on the case of the Black Muslims, it would be appropriate here to raise the questions: in what context of exploitation and underdevelopment should the movement be placed, and what theoretical framework would be most suitable?

Kenneth Clark uses the metaphor of colony to describe the black ghettoes in the U. S. A. in his classic study Dark Ghetto. Dilemmas of Social Change (New York, 1965). On the one hand, he assumes appalling and persistent hinterland or underclass conditions within the ghettoes themselves. On the other hand, he does not commit himself rigorously to just one model or theory. Both of his studies on ghettoes (including his A Relevant War Against Poverty) are historical, anthropological, sociological and social-psychological. Moreover, they contain analytical and practical community development components. It is a holistic approach towards poverty and discrimination, underdevelopment and "race". The author highlights social dynamics developing amongst the group in despair. Without dealing specifically with the millenarian phenomenon, Kenneth Clark emphasizes that "development" has to start as a communal affair amongst the "hinterland" inhabitants themselves. The latter have to reactivate their group resources--pride and hope above all.

b) Millenarian Movements and Community Development

Community Development has generally neglected the study of millenarian movements. To a certain degree it was perhaps bound to disregard this phenomenon of communities--in the social sense of social movements--engaged in their own redemptive process, because in contemporary North America, Community Development has shown a stubborn tendency to focus on communities which are in part visible, quantifiable, and which have clear legal boundaries. Moreover, community development seems to have accepted without much questioning many operationalized concepts from North American urban and rural sociology. Consequently, a specific geographical base and quantitative aspects such as demographic data became the pivotal points of reference for applied research in community development.

This is an unfortunate limitation, because it narrows the group-identification process down to a quantitative abstract and therefore unreal entity such as a city or town. In this manner, Community Development as a learned discipline undermined its own theoretical and practical foundations, which are--what holds people together? That social bond goes beyond whatever can be quantified in physical distance or closeness. This constraining definition of community has hampered research on social movements. Also, it has prevented community development practitioners from looking at millenarian movements as a rich mine of investigation covering such aspects as societal relations in crisis, rapid social changes, consciousness-raising for the millennium, alternative routes towards modernization, and group mobilization.

Unfortunately, millenarian movements have been avoided as "abnormal", "deviant" collective actions as atypical group behavior, as social excesses. Charismatic leadership is held to be an ambiguous topic because first of all a systematic historical approach in community development is often missing.

Secondly, a certain rationalistic optimism appears to be inherent in North American community development and its practitioners. The underlying belief seems to be that social change is basically a progressive process founded on reason and rationality as inherited from the 18th and 19th century philosophers of progress. At a quick glance, millenarian movements are often not taken to lead to "progress". They are more often dismissed as retrogressive, holding back progress and modernization.

c) The Process of Retribalization: From Gesellschaft Back to Gemeinschaft?

The rise of millenarian movements is not necessarily limited to traditional societies, as some social scientists claim. Jumping to an absolute conclusion about Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, and about the so-called progressive and inevitable and desirable development towards modern industrial societies may lead to a distorted image of millenialism. It may be safer to assume that there will always be remaining enclaves of close kinship--like ties within the greater society.

Fernandez (1964) in his research on millenarian movements went to great lengths to prove his claim that they are only prevalent in kinship-oriented societies. His approach centers on potential recruitment patterns: solely along kinship lines can millenarianism crystallize. However, research on non-kinship-oriented contemporary modern societies shows similar recruitment patterns amongst people joining a social movement. Gerlach and Hine (1970) did extensive work in this field. The leading theme of their study is that close ties and associations amongst people make them converts to a movement, with ensuing total engagement and permanent adherence--carrying the marks of "true believers".

Moreover, even though for modern so-called advanced industrial societies, the nuclear family has been claimed as a main characteristic, in more recent theoretical and applied research, this assumption has been questioned and considerably modified. The nuclear-family concept seems useful, only if one allows room at the same time for an ongoing process of "retribalization".

Recently, a new focus on "modern" forms of the old phenomenon of tribalization has become apparent. This process is manifested in the close ties among members of a supposedly "anonymous" highly urbanized society. As a matter of fact, in psychotherapy and group counselling, this concept of retribalization is purposely used, reinforced and amplified in order to guide individuals who suffer anomie and who show symptoms of alienation back into integration and happiness.

> The network effect is a "turn" on phenomenon of group interaction . . . When, during the attempted resolution of a crisis, this phenomenon is induced in a group made up of family, relatives, neighbors, and friends who have had various continuing contact with each other, a retribalization occurs. Attenuated relationships are revived, while symbiotic ties are loosened or severed. Latent interests are energized . . . Old ghosts are exorcized and locked doors are opened; zest and fun are rediscovered. The world shifts in its ominous trend toward depersonalization, dehumanization and loneliness.
>
> The social network is a relatively invisible, but at the same time a very real structure in which an individual, nuclear family, or group is embedded. . . . The retribalization goal of social network

> intervention attempts to deal with the entire structure by rendering the network visible and viable, and by attempting to restore its function.[1]

d) Cohn and Wallace on Millenarian Movements: The Perspective of Alienation and/or Anomie

To Norman Cohn's summary of essential characteristics --millenarian movements are total, imminent, transcendental, and terrestrial--could be added the dimension of disaster as a factor all by itself. In their search for causality --the most ambiguous aspect of social scientific research --social scientists have centered their research on variables which could explain the rise of millenarian movements. Relative deprivation has been used over and over again (see later discussion). However, to grasp the early beginnings of the millennial movement, it might be far more helpful to dwell on the factor of sudden disaster imposing itself on the tribe, group or whole society, and how this disaster is perceived by the people afflicted.

Cohn did this impressively as a historian focussing on medieval disasters and the whole socio-economic and political context, the total symbolic universe in which these were experienced by the people of that time. In his profound analysis of the medieval socio-economic conditions, he is at the same time pursuing from a comparative perspective the theme of Nazi Germany by juxtaposing in his own mind the medieval millenarian outburst and such modern mass psychoses as Nazism and Fascism. However, Cohn does not draw sociological generalizations about disasters in the past and the present because his Marxian-inspired analysis first of all focusses on the social and economic variables. This is not meant to be a critique of Cohn's study which is to all future research on millenarian movements the corner-stone of critical analysis. His classic study--1957--was published and revised, enriched by Cohn's own further analysis. After that, a wide variety of studies appeared on millenarianism in various parts of the world and during different periods of history. A great part of this recent research has actually been inspired by Cohn's bold and innovative work which appears to remain the outstanding contribution on medieval millenarianism.

Focussing as Cohn did on a specific period in history in order to distill a Weberian ideal-typical description of the medieval millennium, he managed to condense his elaborate historical data into a certain ideal type. The research opened up a whole new perspective and instigated truly interdisciplinary approaches. Cohn became against his own intentions--maybe literally against his own will--the travelling spokesman for millenarian research. As he revealed in the foreword to the second edition, he was invited as a speaker by many universities and learned associations. Consequently, Cohn's own thinking was considerably revitalized by the great interest shown in his tentative conclusions. Social-psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists and increasingly more historians ventured into the field of millenarian movements.

After Cohn, the historian pioneering in the study of millennial movements, Wallace should be singled out as the pioneer anthropologist in that field. In contrast to Cohn, Wallace does not give an elaborate descriptive analysis of various movements. Rather, he attempts to build an analytical model of the essential characteristics in sequential order of their development in terms of stages. The impact of this model cannot be overestimated. (See discussion of Wallace's main ideas later.) Cohn and Wallace are mandatory reading for anybody who approaches the field of millennial studies.

It is fascinating to notice as a side observation that Marxian-inspired historical research and maybe Freudian theory as well stimulated anthropological fieldwork and theorizing. These two theoretical systems complemented each other. Both became fundamental to the whole field.

Cohn's starting point is "alienation", whereas Wallace appears to depart from "Anomie". Both of these key sociological concepts, inherited respectively from Marx and Durkheim, are crucial to the holistic understanding of millenarian movements.

For Wallace, the most important if not the only fully observable variable during the crystallization process of millenarianism is stress in the network of the tribe, group or total society. The next question to be asked then is: how much stress can be tolerated before the threshold is passed by the whole group of anxiety-experiencing individuals? For Cohn, the socio-economic conditions of disorganization, dislocation, disorientation and despair are the key variables. He appears guided by the Marxian concept of alienation.

Wallace uses an almost completely psychiatric terminology to describe people in their societal relations. His powerful evocative metaphors like stress, strain, and reweaving web are taken from the discipline of both social psychology and psychiatry. The danger of strongly metaphoric language is that it may distract the observer from societal reality, especially when used almost solely to build up a theory, that is, when the metaphors become the pillars of the theoretical construct. This had led some critical theorists to question the value and use of everyday language for theorizing. (Compare Baldamus in The Structure of Sociological Inference, on unwanted, unplanned methodological side-effects generated by the vagueness or un-preciseness of the sociological vocabulary.)

Weber, both as historian and sociologist, had brought up this debate on so-called "value-free" sociology. More recently, critical theory has contributed to the search for a "neutral" social-scientific language. Historians from the early 19th century had consistently questioned the language use quite some time before sociologists started to think about a neutral scientific terminology.

In the 19th century German School of Historicism, Ranke led some historians astray by introducing his powerful but ambiguous metaphor "Zeitgeist". He claimed that each period in history--past and present--"ist direkt zu Gott", "einmalig" as maybe only this German word can convey: what happens, happened only once. This concept of "Zeitgeist" was rescued, revitalized and operationalized by David Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa, (Oxford University; 1968) and applied to millenarian movements and the factors which cause the outbreak at a certain moment in time. If each period in history is unique in itself--as Ranke claimed--then no comparative analysis is possible and no generalizing concepts may be applied. Weber overcame the pitfalls inherent to Ranke's visionary mystique of "Eimaligkeit" by suggesting the use of ideal-types in comparative historical analysis.

Weber introduced two types of ideal-types:

> One is applied to historical occurrences which are called by Weber, who here follows Rickert's terminology, 'historische Individuen'. To this type for example belongs Weber's formulation of an ideal construct of modern capitalism. The other is applied to recurrent and prevalent phenomena which usually appear as constituent elements of social occurrences . . . The historical Ideal typus joins a mass of diffuse and discreet single phenomena into a uniform structure. The ideal type of general phenomena is a formulation of prevalent types of behavior and the ideal typical condition for their appearance.[2]

e) Wallace's Theory of Revitalization

In an article in 1964 James Laue suggested that the Black Muslims could be looked at in Wallace's terms as a revitalization movement. However, Laue leaves out the historical and interdisciplinary perspectives of millennialism and uses only some of Wallace's terms like stress-reducing techniques and cultural distortion. At the time of his writing, the Black Muslims were yet in a continuous state of flux. Now after several upheavals and split offs--so typical for all millenarian movements --it may be more worthwhile in retrospect to apply models and patterns of these movements in general, taken from various theorists in this field which has now become truly interdisciplinary. To apply only Wallace's model may become a "cultural distortion" in itself. Moreover, the present author feels that more explanatory aspects can be distilled from recent theoretical contributions to the field of millenarianism. This thesis attempts to show that Wallace's model could be used more fully bu juxtaposing it to other approaches to millenarian movements. In this manner comparative interdisciplinary analysis may increase our understanding of social change.

Most crucial in Wallace's vision of the millennium is the high degree of "stress", "strain": great anxieties pervade the society under discussion, be it a "primitive" or a "civilized" one. The societal crisis affects a whole society, class, caste, religious or occupational, acculturational or other definable group. He describes the people in their struggle to alleviate distress and cope with severe disorientation. Social dynamics are explored with organismic tools of analysis. The metaphors are evocative and the dominant theme is the "mazeway" falling apart because of increasing incongruities. Great discomfort is experienced between the new harsh reality and the pre-existing social framework. Members of the group suffer acute collective loss of meaning in manifold ways. Wallace's descriptive analysis becomes highly dramatic when he is turning to the joint defence mechanisms invented and applied in the counter attack by the group whose fate is at stake: "the reweaving of the web".

The stages described are (1) steady state: chronic strains are present but just inside the limit of the cultural group tolerance.

(2) Increased individual stress: now the threshold has been reached and the individuals cannot bear any longer the discrepancies between their traditional cultural framework and the world collapsing around them. A natural disaster, military defeat, disease of epidemic proportions, onset of socio-economic upheavals, extreme political oppression, rapid acculturation may all be potential causes.

Tucker lists similar causes of social disorder:

> Distress occurs in such a wide variety of forms that it seems hardly feasible for a theorist of charismatic leadership to catalogue them. They range from the physical and material distress caused by persecution, catastrophies (for example famine, drought) and extreme economic hardship to such diverse forms of psychic or emotional distress as the feeling of oppression in peoples ruled by foreigners, the radical alienation from the existing order experienced by revolutionaries, or the intolerable anxieties that have motivated many followers of religious millenarian movements in the past and political millenarian movements in the modern age. Although distress in one form or another is more or less endemic in social history,

> it is at times of crisis that charismatic movements for change develop in profusion as would be messiahs attract followers en masse.[3]

(3) The crisis of acute disorientation is termed "cultural distortion" by Wallace. Instances of personal disequilibrium multiply into collective meaningless. The mazeway has become an empty shell. Its traditional grid does not appear to match any more with the radically changing societal structures. Shock waves of rapid change make the old framework look completely out of proportion. Now, as Burridge puts it:

> . . . fresh categories are sought. Faced with experiences and kinds of behavior which the traditional categories can no longer predict, whose ordering the traditional categories and assumptions can no longer guarantee, heart and mind plunge into the past to seek that inspiration which will carry them forward to a new synthesis.[4]

(4) Total disaster can only be prevented by revitalization: i. e. a group rescuing its own past and at the same time building its own future.

(5) This revitalized steady state is the new Gestalt: the all encompassing socio-cultural and religious framework. The group has completed its own acculturation process by reshaping under great stress its own identity.

Wallace's model, innovative as it is, leaves us with some theoretical ambiguities. The strong metaphoric language may have taken away some of its analytical precision. There are six theoretical steps which Wallace differentiates for the group to take in its frantic search for a viable identity and a new stable niche: mazeway reformulation, organization, adaptation, cultural transformation and routinization. Separating these stages too rigidly would distort the intent of Wallace's framework. Of course, it is only in theory that one can differentiate all the phases; in societal reality some or all may be happening in a far more fluid, almost simultaneous manner.

Wallace did manage also to clarify Weber's ideal-type of charismatic leadership by differentiating these stages. The ongoing group process between followers and leaders is sketched in a unifying manner. Although Wallace's framework is mostly based on historical and anthropological research, it is very applicable to modern societies as well and meant to be so. This makes it extremely versatile and fruitful.

So far, the model has not been used very much in community development. Where Wallace articulates social change as an innovative group mobilization process, his findings could be made very relevant to community development. Moreover by envisioning followers and leaders in a unified societal action group during the collective trauma, Wallace manages to overcome some of the ambiguities in Weber's ideal-type of charismatic leadership.

The ways in which James Laue attempts to insert different terms used for millenarianism into his brief survey of the Black Muslims may not be very satisfying. He suggests the following stages in the development of the Black Muslims: revitalizing, vitalistic, millenarian and messianic. However, as I see it now, these dimensions may be all present in the one revitalization movement depending on circumstances and context. The respective stages of steadiness, increased stress, cultural distortion and revitalization can on the other hand be used effectively to improve the analysis of the Black Muslim movement. This has not been done so far in the literature published on this movement.

f) The Millennium in the Middle Ages: A Constant Search for Reassuring the Gemeinschaft

The whole medieval symbolic universe was loaded with prophetic metaphors and powerfully apocalyptic images to remind the faithful that God's history was marching on towards the Final End. (This is impressively elaborated by J. Ellul in his study of medieval revolt and chiliastic hopes in Autopsy of Revolution.)

Cohn's study of the millennium and Johan Huizinga's The Waning of the Middle Ages are comparable in many ways. Both are classics on medieval history because of the penetrating and innovative treatment of the preoccupation so typical for that time with death, final end and Last Judgement. Huizinga's study focusses on the late medieval obsessions with death and decay, with intensive passionate living, and with a constant fear and horror of dying. Huizinga critically analyses the great medieval phenomenon of "Angst".

Deep anxiety was felt by people who were painfully experiencing rapid transitions: political, cultural, socio-economic changes they could not possibly cope with in the context into which they had been socialized. Symptoms of severe disorientation were rampant. Huizinga in his approach towards social change deliberately attempts to focus on the dimensions which remained the same in people's thinking and acting--in Durkheim's words, "the conscience collective". Huizinga shows how people's images of that time changed mostly by becoming more intensified in color, shape and texture and turned increasingly more dramatic and violent. At the same time, the all-encompassing religious frame of reference remained the same. As an historian of art and culture, Huizinga concentrated specifically on beautiful rituals and esthetic forms.

This intensifying, reviving and beautifying of the old symbols proved symptomatic for the vibrant ending of an old period and the almost reluctant beginning of the new. People caught in this dilemma cannot yet come to terms with the new without rewinding the old. This was how Huizinga envisioned social change: by overemphasing what people were embedded in as deeply familiar symbolic framework, they could collectively gain the strength so necessary for coming to terms with the new conditions.

The most essential contribution made by Wallace in his revitalization theory is, as Barkum puts it:

> . . . he removes cultural innovation from realm of incremental change and places it in category of quantum leaps.[5]

This insight applies also to Huizinga. Huizinga as an historian and Wallace as an anthropologist came up with related versions of social change. Throughout Huizinga's Waning of the Middle Ages runs the theme of a frantic collective search for intensified security by reviving the old symbols and norms in a feverish manner. Huizinga conveys beautifully how people in the many countries and provinces belonging to the Duke of Burgundy--his focus of study, i. e. northeast France and Lower Countries--were passionately engaged in revitalizing their own traditions, that is, by amplifying them in intensity, almost *ad absurdum*.

Unfortunately, Huizinga's seminal study of the late medieval spirit as a revitalizing movement in itself remained unknown to many sociologists, especially the North American school which often lacks interest in historical perspectives. Huizinga's vision of people in times of rapid transitions, drastically revitalizing their rituals and forms inherited from a period already in decay, ought to have an impact on theories of social change and acculturation. Cohn as an historian capitalized on the rich medieval historiography of this period and succeeded in making his own study both historical and theoretical by adding a new perspective on social change and people caught in the middle of it.

In the Middle Ages, the chiliastic fervor reached a climax during the time the Black Death was stalking all over Europe. The Flagellants visually expressed and dramatized how people's minds and bodies were preoccupied for decades with the end-is-at-hand syndrome (revived again in Bergman's movies).

One could mention cases where cyclical and regularly returning disasters did not generate panic and millennial restlessness, like the flooding of the Nile. Disasters do not generate apocalyptical fears when they are seasonal. From my earlier reading on medieval historiography, this proves correct. It was only when the disasters were multiple, abrupt and truly "abnormal", out of proportion, that the normal frame of reference seemed to fall short of a satisfying explanation. Then new, radically different explanations were called for and here Cohn traces the recurrent pattern of a collective search for apocalyptic explanations of grandiose proportions.

People in great acute disorientation are frantically searching for new answers, because the old ones have become alarmingly inadequate. Throughout medieval times the apocalyptic understream stayed alive. There were always isolated but continuing layers in society preoccupied with the supernatural as revealed in the Book of Daniel and the Revelations, and reinforced with late Roman and medieval versions of the Apocalypse.

Increasingly throughout the Middle Ages there were riots and revolts by some segments of the population. At certain times--but not always--the people in their rebelliousness coalesced with the always present but not always manifest millenarian undercurrents. The prospective millenarian prophet in waiting then could rise to the occasion and channel the people's anxiety, resentment and revolt onto the millenarian plateau. Especially in the second and later editions of his study, Cohn articulates his dual concept of revolt and millenniums reinforcing each other in many instances. He emphasizes that the medieval revolts were not all typically millenarian. Moreover, only the completely alienated, that is, the really marginally poor were likely to become enchanted and swept along by a millenarian prophet-preacher, totally immersed in salvationist doctrine and extremist actions. Then the whole idea and practice of revolt became a nightmarish vision.

> Prophets would construct their apocalyptic lore out of the most varied materials--the Book of Daniel, the Book of Revelation, the Sybilline Oracles, the speculations of Joachim of Fiore, the doctrine of the Egalitarian State of Nature --all of them elaborated and reinterpreted and vulgarized. That lore would be purveyed to the poor--and the result would be something which was at once a revolutionary movement and an outburst of quasi-religious salvationism. It is characteristic of this kind of movement that its aims and premises are boundless . . . the people for whom it had most appeal were neither peasants firmly integrated in the life of village and manor nor artisans firmly integrated in their guilds . . .[6]

Moreover, the marginally poor and uprooted whom Cohn follows in his study showed an increasing alienation from authority as embodied in the Church, especially in the Pope and clergy. Instead of being any longer respectfully and devotedly accepted as the incarnation of God on earth, the Pope was becoming increasingly rejected and mistrusted. In the eye of the faithful beholder, he was now seen as the incarnation of Evil, of Luxuria and Avaritia. With increasing apocalyptic vehemence, the

Church was being rejected and attacked, and in the ensuing vacuum of desacralized authority the disoriented poor started their frantic search for a new "Gemeinschaft" outside the traditional boundaries of the Church.

> It is because of these emotional needs of the poor that the militant social movements . . . were at the same time surrogates for the Church--salvationist groups led by miracle working ascetics.[7]

Not only was a break-away from the corrupted church authority sought. Medieval kingship, previously conceived as the incarnation of moral law and divine intention, was also loosing its grip on the people because of a new type of competitive power, a struggle for the emancipation of secular power. In France, the reactions to this struggle for secular power were brief outbursts of revolutionary millenarianism, because the power of the new monarchy consolidated itself comparatively fast. In Germany, this power struggle went on for centuries leading up to the Great Interregnum. Consequently, the German people appeared to project their anxieties into countless millenarian movements. Invariably, the power vacuum was a rich soil for unrest of multiple forms and whenever a new power tried to impose itself ruthlessly, it did not reach to the roots among the people. They then perceived power as oppression and wholly illegitimate. In Germany, particularly the cult of the savior of the poor flourished any time another upheaval was experienced in an endless seeming series of disturbances.

> When finally one comes to consider the anarchist millenarian groups which flourished around the close of the Middle Ages, one fact is immediately obvious: it was always in the midst of some much wider revolt or revolution that a group of this kind emerged into daylight.[8]

Not just in Germany because of its permanent condition of disorder and restlessness, but also in France, the Lower Countries, specifically in Flanders and in Bohemia, and in England--one finds the same movements from the 12th to the 16th century flaring on and off. Only the completely marginal seem to become mesmerized and fall into the hands of the millenarian prophets.

> . . . and what emerged then as a new group--a restlessly dynamic and utterly ruthless group, which obsessed by the apocalyptic fantasy and filled with conviction of its own infallibility, set itself indefinitively above the rest of humanity and recognized no claims save that of its own supposed mission.[9]

> . . . and finally this group might--though it did not always--succeed in imposing its leadership on the mass of the disoriented, the perplexed and the frightened.[10]

g) The Debate on the Millennium: Is it More Typical of Rural Areas than of Urban Centers?

Whereas Cohn implies that millenarian movements may arise either in rural or urban areas, Barkum attempts to show that millenarian movements are more typically rural in isolated agrarian areas where kinship ties are strong and stable. He rightfully terms the extended family a bufferzone and suggests that in cities in pre-industrial society, the extended family is still functioning as a buffer. Similarly, Hobsbawn puts millenarian movements in the context of what he describes as archaic societies or pockets thereof, literally left behind in some remote parts of Europe during its early industrialization (18th and 19th centuries). Moreover, Hobsbawn[11] scrutinizes the smaller-scale cities during that period and points out how much some of these cities yet truly formed a Gemeinschaft, whose members traditionally and devotedly were aligned with their local king or count whom they obeyed respectfully as their God-given ruler and natural protector. Both ruler and ruled were wrapped up in this sacred pattern of authority. It took a long time in history before traditional forms of revolt changed drastically into more or less modern outbursts of revolution. (Compare Ellul, Autopsy of Revolution) Talmon calls millenarian movements pre-political; it may be more historically correct to define them as revolts which were simultaneously religious and secular because no clear differentiation could be made until the French Revolution's concerted attack on authority. (Compare

G. Lefèbvre's Le Probleme de l'Incroyance au XVieme Siecle, which is a study on Rabelais.)

Queiroz suggests that millenarian movements are the only possible form of revolution and reform in all traditional societies. Barkum tries to find plausible reasons for millenarian movements being more likely to develop in rural areas, especially because of the naturally compact populations and the prevalence of extreme deprivation. In the heterogeneous city, one person's disaster may become another's windfall. He feels that close communal identification has begun to die out in the "modern" west and gives the example of an earlier outburst of millenarian panic all over the countryside in 18th century France: "La Grande Peur", mid-summer, 1789. When local fears were spreading as apocalyptic rumors throughout homogeneous rural areas, La Grande Peur took on epidemic proportions. Barkum claims that it was typical for millenarian movements to begin in one location then generate countless parallel movements in other rural regions. He then concluded that "millennium with total claims of loyalty and a single authoritative world view is incompatible with interest-group politics".

Tilly differentiates between communal and associative ties which amounts to another way of indicating a gradual development from Gemeinschaft into Gesellschaft. (Graham and Gurr, Violence in America, p. 38)

> Communalism with its physical and social vulnerability, its homogeneity, and its well defined local ties, is more likely to be the scene of a contagious atmosphere of anxiety and suggestibility.[12]

If Barkum tries to associate millenarian movements with rural conditions, Seymour Lipset goes even farther when associating millenarian movements with a lower social class where authoritarianism, political extremism and emotional religiosity are rampant, so this class necessarily is a source of chiliastic revolt. This seems very debatable. It may be true that rural inhabitants most often have a lower class status than city dwellers. Here Barkum undertakes to rework the class background: "millenarianism of a lower class is less a class phenomenon per se than a response to peculair conditions of rural life". (Barkum, p. 72) The depth of the marginality of the rural poor is greater, so their millenarian outbursts are expected to be more extreme.

Is Barkum not here trying the impossible by claiming that Gemeinschaft--which he specifies as homogeneity, close ties and buffer zone (as Adas does)--is more typical at any time for rural areas anywhere? Moreover, he does make mention himself of "scattered" instances of urban millenarian movements, as in Florence, Munster in late medieval times--around the end of the 15th century respectively and in 1534-35. Very recently the

Marcus Garvey movement was predominantly urban and yet fully millenarian. To this series could be added other contemporary cases like the Black Muslims, the earthquakes of Tokyo and Rio de Janiero. Moreover, Barkum does concede that there are totalitarian millenarian movements in our own time, especially in cities. When discussing the Russian Revolution, Barkum points out how the revolutionary movement was spreading extremely fast in homogeneous areas which were not necessarily rural: for example, in the one-company towns.

To what degree at all can millenarian movements be seen as class revolt? Is class consciousness a dimension in them? During the middle ages all millenarian movements arose in non-urban settings, banding together homogeneous rural populations.[13] Increasing division of labor makes the rise of millenarian movements more unlikely. Pre-industrial society with its kinship ties is a more fertile seed-bed. However, during the middle ages there were at least two great exceptions to this rule: the fervent millennialism in Florence and Munster. Florence could boast of a unique civic tradition ascribing to herself a very special role of leadership and claiming to be the only true heir to the city of Rome and its equally unique role as a holy city, domineering over all of Italy if not all of the known world.

Florence then, as a city, had a sense of "calling" to its part on the world stage.[14]

This city had been imagining for centuries that a superior destiny had been carved out for her. Florence, the only successor of Rome and the world's next best center of regeneration, rebirth and what not! Since at least the 13th century, many half-religious, half-political sects were tolerated rather well within the Florentine walls, whereas other similar sects like the Cathars, Fraticelli, Amadamites and Waldensians were flourishing primarily in agrarian areas. Not so in the case of Florence, and when the religious and political organizer and prophet Savonarola appeared on the scene in Florence, the conditions for millenialism were right there, ready made. Consequently, Savonarola was not so much of an innovator as a synthesizer of existing vague millenarian ideas in Florence.

The other major striking case of fully developed urban millenialism during the late medieval period occurred in Munster. A sketchy outline of the sequence of events (as relevant to this discussion) runs as follows.

An internal class struggle was going on in Munster itself between a cohesive well-cordinated but competitive guild system versus an oppressive, highly regulatory ecclesiastical regime. While this struggle was intensifying in Munster itself, some other external factors added their weight to the internal conflict: namely a series of disasters such as crop failures and epidemic diseases spreading all over the surrounding areas. Moreover, the Turks were invading western Europe, and consequently taxes were increasing all over Europe to muster defensive forces, while floods and famines were occurring left and right. Simultaneously, in the Low Countries in the 1530's, the chiliastic movement of Anabaptism erupted under a new prophet leader Melchior Hoffman. This caused another outbreak of related Anabaptism in Munster under a local Lutheran leader. Fervor increased on all fronts. The millenarian followers from Holland marched en masse into Munster, literally converting that city into semipermanent headquarters of such a totalitarian social radicalism in extremes as never was witnessed anywhere else.

The strength of Barkum's argument lies perhaps not in his somewhat artificial differentiation between rural and urban pre-millenarian conditions, but in his incisive analytical comments on the impact of the sequence of disasters and on the millenarian consciousness, passed on from generation to generation by an intensive and isolated socialization process. This dimension was not systematically treated before and here Barkum adds to the understanding of the rise and spread of millenarian movements. His chapters on "The Disaster Origin of Millenarian Movements" and on "The Disaster Prone Environment" are also of great importance to gain more insight into the millenarian movements of the Black Muslims: the endless series of collective suffering like enslavement, enforced migration, continuous colonization and oppression, uprootedness culminating in total disorientation. This strong sense of repetitive defeats and betrayals in the lives of the disprivileged and oppressed is not individually based deep anxiety but collectively experienced and expressed. The whole Black history is filled with abrupt and drastic uprootedness shared by all Blacks in America and this came more recently to another climax in the two big migration waves from the impossible South to the inhospitable North. It was the despised nation's history from Plantation to Ghetto. These two last major migrations took place after World War I and World War II and both ended in accumulative misery because of continuous lack of status and true citizenship, because of alienation ad absurdum in the northern ghettoes.

h) The Impact of Disasters on People's Minds: Possible Connections Between Upheavals and the Millennium.

> The decisive point in modern history was, from the point of view of our problem (Ideology and Utopia) the moment in which 'Chiliasm' joined forces with the active demands of the oppressed strata of society. The very idea of the dawn of a millennial kingdom on earth always contained a revolutionizing tendency, and the church made every effort to paralyze this situationally transcendent idea with all the means at its command.[15]

Crucial for understanding the potential rise of millenarian movements is the fact that not one but a series of similar disasters may become the catalyst. How to define a disaster-prone area or period, when to look for potential millennial reactions to follow --these are complex questions approached rather differently by leading theorists in this field. The most elaborate analysis has been done by Barkum in his study Disaster and the Millennium. Not all disasters generate millenarian beliefs although many millenarian movements were preceded by a series of obvious disastrous events.

> Natural disasters, famine, plague or drought may have provided such occasions--of millenarianism --but the most frequently observed circumstances of charismatic phenomenon appear to be the conditions promoted by war or the clash of cultures. Invasions or migrations may have caused disruption of norms and values from time to time creating occasions on which men might have accepted the offer of extraordinary supernatural intervention had it been available.[16]

Successive disasters may generate millenarianism.[17]

Sometimes one sudden catastrophe may suffice if the social context happens to be already permeated with the nervous millenarian expectations, for example the Tokyo Earthquake of 1923. Disasters can be natural or man-made: famine, flood, a plague of epidemic proportions, earthquakes, war, defeats, oppression, migration, depression, colonization. By discussing the impact of disasters on people in various kinds of societies and different period of time, Barkum articulates the concept rather well.

It can be concluded from his critical survey that not all forms of serial disaster predetermine millennialism. One could mention cases where a society or a whole civilization in decay seems not to have evoked the millenarian syndrome, e. g. the rather abrupt breakdown of cultures like the Minoan, the Etruscan, the Mayan. Barkum cites three possible reactions to his ideal-typical situation of multiple disaster: (1) apathy and decay; (2) development of a full millenarian movement; and (3) defensive restructuring (Bernhard Siegel's theory) which often marks the conclusive ending, the routinization of a millenarian movement.

In this perspective, the development of the Christian and the Islamic religion may be compared. Contemporary communism has evolved as a movement in a similar way (see Tucker's insightful article). Other religious movements could be categorized, too, as defensive restructuring: the Shtetl Jews, the Mormons, the Amish and the Pueblo Indians. Most religiously inspired movements changed themselves over time into a certain compromise with society by becoming passively millenarian after having started off as more actively millenarian movements (compare Brian Wilson on Sects).

Barkum gives two examples at the beginning of his analysis of what he terms "disaster-prone environment". The often cited Burned Over District of Upstate New York is an example, where religious fervor and millenarian outburst had been manifest in almost regular patterns of returning ways of religious enthusiasm (see also Field). After his critical discussion of the "relative deprivation" theory, Barkum goes on to show how there were no specific socio-economic variables at work in Upstate New York which could have caused such an unusual and returning panic. Moreover, typical catastrophic pre-millenarian events were strikingly absent: no famine, no flood, no earthquakes, no comets, invasions, banditry, plagues, epidemics or wars. However, the millenarian spirit had been rampant for some decades, though it appeared to be a more passive type of millenarianism; not so much voicing social protest and demanding revolutionary changes, but rather projecting toward a remote future of salvation. Strong otherworldly expectations were on people's minds. In this area and period the Millerites predicted the end of the world in the year 1844. This was the only specific crystallization in time of the millenarian spirit.

In Ireland on the other hand, during the potato famine of 1848-49, a definitive concrete emergency situation had suddenly arisen because of a whole sequence of disasters. No millenarian outburst followed. Barkum points out with regard to the first example that the whole context of thinking and acting had been deeply imbued with millenarian fervor for over a long period of many generations. People had been socialized into the millenarian spirit although there was no unusual socio-economic distress to speak of, no major political upheavals, no natural disasters. It was a case then of generations of socialization in millenarian conceptions which had prepared the ground for a definitive outburst and had worked as a recruiting mechanism.

> The burned over district, having been populated by participants in the Great Awakening, simply became an arena in which a familiar form of religious expectation was played out. The absence of social content from the preaching is further evidence that the practice of periodic social cleansing campaigns no longer reflected deeper social or economic tensions.[18]

In the case of the Irish example all the preconditions were present, yet no millenarian outburst materialized. In the Irish case the acute sense of loss, despair and anomie was alleviated in a very pragmatic way by mass emigration. Moreover the anomie was temporary because the unusually strong position and influence of the Roman Catholic Church successfully guided the people through the suffering into a form of coping with daily misery. Some disasters are apparently taken in their stride, as they come; with resignation people appear to adapt to drastic changes. Thus, the silting of Bruges' access to the sea did not cause a millenarian upheaval, whereas in the typical medieval context many sudden changes were automatically perceived as God-sent punishments for evil committed. To put disasters in the familiar religious framework came almost as a natural reflex to medieval people. (Compare Eileen Power, Johan Huizinga) The chroniclers were always pointing at God's sudden intervening power or for that matter at any appropriate Saint for interference or protection--whenever an unusual event would break through the monotony of "normal" events to be recorded.

For example, in the 13th and 14th centuries, during major socio-economic and political upheavals in both Ghent and Bruges and during a series of artisan revolts under the famous brothers van Artevelde as leaders, there were millenarian elements all over the provinces of Flanders, Antwerp, Artois and Hanois. (See elaborate analysis of these socio-economic and political upheavals by Belgian historian Henri Pirenne, Histoire de la Belgique, 1931.)

In cases, the social protest would become strengthened and widened by the millenarian spirit, especially by the fervently chiliastic expectations. (Compare Cohn and Ellul; also compare Worsley for impact of millenarian movements on social change in the Melanesian case.) It would be a shallow way out of the theoretical complexity here to resort to the popular chicken-egg question. This would reduce causality in millenarian movements to a matter of--what precedes what. Millenarian and revolutionary movements may coincide, may be present at the same time amongst the same groups of people in similar socio-economic and cultural-religious context. (I am purposely not using the overloaded term "class" here for this period in history.) They may then reinforce each other and literally speed up the impending sequence of events. The millenarian spirit may intensify and dramatize the revolutionary movement which had started already or was in the process of its early crystallization.

In other cases, the same spirit may delay, side-track or postpone indefinitely any form of concrete action. This leads to a discussion when and why, under which circumstances rebellions most typically do start. (Compare V. Murvar, "Messianism in Russia: Religious and Revolutionary", in Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Vol. 10, 1971, Pp.277-338.) In some historical cases, deep anxieties are shared by the masses but the charismatic leader does not appear on the scene. The presence or the absence of such a leader makes all the difference: no millenarianism may crystallize.

From earlier research I did (at Groningen University, The Netherlands) the Thirty Years War could be quoted as an exceptional case in point: where all the millenarian preconditions were present but the millennium failed to crystallize. Extremes of socio-economic distress and major political upheavals had preceded the outbreak of the war itself which intensified the general break-down of society in various German counties. This caused a seemingly endless chain of political crises. (Compare A. Lloyd Moote, The Seventeenth Century: Europe in Ferment, 1970; "Secular States in Tension, 1600-1660", pp. 99-186.) Historians applied statistical methods to this period in German 17th century history to measure the degree of disorientation and dislocation. Even this method was not sufficient to account for the obvious lack of millenarian outbursts. On the other hand, in the early 16th century Germany there had been strong and repetitive outcrops of the millenarian spirit and agitation as witnessed during the Munster Rebellion and the Peasant Wars.

To give another example: Hitler rose to power in a meteoric manner during an extraordinarily deep crisis in Germany. In comparative analysis, Tucker points out how there had been a very deep crisis in Russia for many decades, but how it was only during the second decade of the 20th century that the crisis had deepened enough and that the repetitive defeats did have a final eruptive impact. Namely, only in 1917, when the war had aggravated and spread misery among the masses, did Lenin's charismatic call meet with fervent responses from all over the country.

> I shall never forget the thunderlike speech, startling and amazing not only to me, a heretic accidentally present there, but also to the faithful, all of them. I assert that nobody there had expected anything of the kind. It seemed as if all the elements and the spirit of universal destruction had risen from their lairs, knowing neither barriers nor doubts, nor personal difficulties nor personal considerations, to hover . . . above the heads of the bewitched disciples.[19]

A social historian like Crane Brinton puts the final events leading up to the French Revolution in juxtaposition to similar crises in other revolutions. Erik Erickson talks of these societal crises in psychological terms such as abrupt identity vacuum, existential dread. The essence of millenarianism is when the appropriate leader-prophet appears and preaches redemption for all in an innovative synthesis drawn out of the societal crises: ". . . a charismatic leader is one who offers people salvation in the form of safety, or rituals or some combination of these."[20]

> To fix the beginning of a movement at a given point in the stream of historical events is always hazardous and signifies a neglect of the forerunners of the movement. But the successful reconstruction of what is most essential in historical development depends upon the historian's ability to give the proper emphasis to those turning points which are decisive in the articulation of the phenomena. The fact that modern socialism often dates its origins from the time of the Anabaptists is in part evidence that the movement led by Thomas Munzer is to be regarded as a step in the direction of modern revolutionary movements. It is obvious of course that we are not yet dealing here with class conscious proletarians. Similarly, it must be readily granted that Munzer was a social revolutionary from religious motives. However, the sociologist must pay particular attention to this movement because in it Chiliasm and the social revolution were structurally integrated.[21]

In cases where a millenarian movement obviously turns the people away from logical (and in terms of context of movement) concerted action, there is a tendency among some social scientists to come up with easy explanations and in my view dangerously broad generalizations. There is no doubt that in some instances the millenarian fervor did provide its followers with pain and stress-alleviating channels, with distracting actions, with forms of escapism and pacifying rituals, with unreal promises of better things to come by magic or whatever supernatural interference to be manifest soon. In short: the millenarian fervor would improve the group morale without at all changing the socio-economic hardships. Moreover the millenarian spirit may drive its adherents from revolutionary consciousness into insane collective actions, out of great fear, chiliastic despair about the deeply aggravating misery of the present. See throughout 16th, 17th and 18th century where millenarian sects would commit collective suicide at several instances in Russia's tumultuous history, so abundant with extremes in human suffering among whole segments of the population.

However, this pie-in-the-sky syndrome is by no means typical for all millenarian movements. Inevitably this should broaden the general analysis of the impact of religion as a powerful group identification process: a very complex phenomenon which cannot possibly be defined as a solely religious form of group crystallization based on a certain set of transcendental assumptions. Here the recent theoretical "rewording" of religion as Identification and the Sacred by Hans Mol could be made relevant to the interpretation of millenarian movements. The powerful social dynamics generated by charismatic leadership during the group conversion process in a so-called prophetic protest movement should be of deep interest and concern to the theory and practice of community development.

i) A More Universal Perspective: Acculturation. How Viable is the Concept?

For a long time in social scientific research the focus was on forms of controlled acculturation manifest during the extensive period of European colonization and imperialism. Of course, earlier forms of less systematic acculturation were known and well studied in historic research done on previous empires like the Egyptian, Babylonian-Persian, Greek, Helenistic and Roman. When looking at colonialism and imperialism as forms of controlled acculturation, the rise of modern nationalism should be mentioned as a variable adding enormous impetus to the imperialistic drive for power, for forceful access to resources and unilateral control over whole segments of continents outside Europe. (Compare A. D. Smith on nationalism and Schumpeter's seminal study of imperialism.) Imperialism is here taken in a historically precise definition of so-called Modern Imperialism, a culmination of competitive colonialism with modern techniques and extremely nationalistic overtones (see J. S. Bartstra, Modern Imperialism, 1880 to present, 1958; Langer, The Diplomacy of Imperialism, Alfred Knopf, New York, Fourth Printing, 1965.)

A more general acculturation theory as attempted by Dohrenwend and Smith[22] could be fruitfully compared with Wallace's universal ideal type of a revitalization movement. In Dohrenwerd and Smith's case, a team effort by two social scientists propose an outline of a theoretical model that could encompass an unusually wide variety of acculturation cases. By defining possible stages into four general categories (alienation, reorientation, reaffirmation and reconstitution) the authors transcend the boundaries of millenarian, nativistic, vitalistic and revitalizing movements into a more universal category of adaptation to innovation by group or individuals. The categories as defined allow both for individual cases of acculturation and for complete social movements. However, overemphasis on the group's selection of viable elements from both conflicting cultures does not lead the authors to a satisfying synthesis of the group processes involved: identification and mobilization of resources. This aspect of social dynamics is not accounted for in the model. The authors appear aware of the pitfalls involved in theorizing too widely and of the risks of constraining the definitions too narrowly. Their solution seems to follow Merton's suggestion to build theories on the intermediate level.

Acculturation itself is a very wide field and millenarian or revitalization movements could be termed a sub-field of research and theoretical endeavor. Widely acclaimed definitions were given by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits.[23] Somewhat later Herskovits[24] did a critique of the team work above mentioned. According to the team, acculturation implied:

> . . . those phenomena, which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact . . . [25]

Throughout studies and descriptions of acculturation, the following terms appear to be used rather frequently: disintegration, fusion, assimilation, dominant or superior versus subordinate or inferior culture or tribe, group, class. Interestingly enough, at first Dohrenwend and Smith used the term assimilation instead of their fourth final category, "reconstitution". Obviously the term assimilation implies that certain characteristics of the "dominant", "superior" culture are "better and stronger", so that assimilation of whole group and symbolic framework was bound to happen and consequently was "naturally" justified. This assumption for a very long time has plagued the mainstream of American sociologists when dealing with the presumably last and final ethnic sub-group, the Negroes or Black people.

In 1954, the Social Science Research Council focussed on acculturation and its varying speed for different sub-dimensions, e. g. Ogburn's well-known theory of cultural lag, suggesting that technological changes occur faster than changes in other aspects of culture. General stagnation then may set in because the socio-cultural context cannot accommodate, literally cannot digest the changes imposed by the technological development. The Council also suggested that often the focus in studies of acculturation is lopsided, either concentrating solely on the "native" culture or even worse, solely on the dominant culture. Very seldom though are both perspectives treated simultaneously in a balanced and fair way.

Frequently the process of acculturation itself is underexposed and the treatment is far from holistic. An holistic perspective on acculturation is attempted by Wallace, and the strength of his theory appears to be the consistent focus on conscious individual and group strivings to accommodate the overpowering rapid changes persistently defined by Wallace in his metaphors of "strains", "stress" on the "life supporting matrix". One should immediately add here that Wallace does not use such terms to adhere to the functionalist school: on the contrary, he fully incorporates conflict into his theory. Moreover, he claimed that a revitalization movement may not get off the ground unless it has a concrete political-economic base. It may often be set into motion under strongly religious impulses; yet during or right after its early crystallization process other variables, especially politico-economic ones, may gain the upper hand.

> The formulation is regarded as a man who has been vouchsafed from a supernatural being or from some other source of wisdom unavailable to the masses, superior knowledge and authority which justifies his claim to unquestioned belief and obedience from followers.[26]

In a later stage though, the same movement after aggravating signals of obstinacy and power abuse given by the power entrenched, will rework its own code to legitimate its more forceful manoeuvring. This then will inevitably lead up to force or violence.

> The general tendency is for codes to harden gradually and for the tone of the movement to become increasingly militant, nativistic, and hostile both toward non-participating members of the group, who will ultimately be defined as "traitors" and towards outsiders who are "enemies".[27]

So now the leap from the religious into the secular realm is made as part of an almost "natural" process itself, dictated by the sequence of events: the intensifying of the socio-economic and political crisis. Instead, Smith and Dohrenwend focus on internalization of new norms as the main collective preoccupation.

Here Wallace predicts that if the movement manages to sweep along great segments of the population--and in the case of a modern industrial society--is successful in gaining access to and establishing control over transportation, power, bureaucracy, resources and military apparatus, then the new culture--previously suppressed sub-culture--can make itself entrenched in turn. Then the revitalization movement will balance itself out, conformity will gain over symptoms of disorientation, distortion and anomie will decrease. This surfacing of a new coherent "conscience collective"--to use the Durkheimian wording--is a necessary precondition for the movement and the new society to get off the ground and survive.

In order to become permanently viable, Wallace claims that an economic base is required. This is a remarkable theoretical addition to a model which first of all conceptualizes revitalized movements as social-psychological and religious pehnomena. Here Wallace has fully capitalized on Mannheim's seminal idea of ideology versus utopia. It is most exciting to notice throughout his studies--not just in the condensed version of revitalization movements in his famous incisive article Revitalization Movements--Wallace looks at religion and the ideologies--or utopias it incessantly tends to inspire

--as a complex force in societal structure; as a framework that can carry people through a collective crisis of multiple dimensions, even more so as an enabling force that can generate a whole revolution brought about by the oppressed.

> . . . the tendency in any society toward one set of beliefs and rituals, the ideological, which are conservative, aimed at the repair and perfection of the existing system, and toward another, the utopian, which are directed toward the attainment of a revolutionary change for the achievement of a new and better world. Ideological rituals may be said to have as their aim social control in a cybernetic sense; they intend to instruct, to direct, and to program individuals as they enter upon new tasks, and to correct the "wobbling" of the system of society which would result if individuals strayed too far from the roles they have assumed (this is the typically functionalist conceptualizing of people playing their roles prescribed by the all pervasive norms.)[28]

Then Wallace projects far beyond this:

> . . . much of what is written about 'religion' deals almost entirely with its ideological rituals and their functions; this is perhaps because the anthropological observers of religion tend to come from conservative institutions in conservative societies. Indeed, to many Western persons, religion is ideology--and that which is ritualistic and supernaturally rationalized, but is not ideological, is either ignored or dismissed as pathological or merely superstitious.[29]

Some of the advantages in a "neutrally" worded theoretical construct as attempted by Dohrenwend and Smith are its versatility and medium-range focus. It can be used for a wide and complex set of acculturation situations and because of its rescuing of earlier concepts like "alienation" it can be a stimulating starter to generate new perspectives, and exercises in re-theorizing.

Dohrenwend and Smith use the case of Australian tribes on the border of white men's frontier settlements to epitomize the collapse of the symbolic framework which used to hold the tribes together.

> . . . the myth making process in its native form breaks down completely . . . With the collapse of this system of ideas, which is so closely related with so many other aspects of native culture, there follows an appalling sudden and complete cultural disintegration and a demoralization of the individual such as seldom has been recorded for areas other than Australia . . . native sentiments and values are simply dead. Apathy reigns. The aboriginal has passed beyond the reach of any outsider who might wish to do him well or ill.[30]

Unfortunately, this quotation gives the impression that the Australian case is unique. All Dohrenwend and Smith want to show by this example is that there may arise such an extreme degree of alienation that the culture under threat comes to a complete standstill. This did happen in many other instances.

What they term as second stage is the process of reorientation when the group itself starts moving in the direction of the alien culture while abandoning some elements of its own culture and overemphasizing and reinforcing some other vital aspects of the indigeneous framework. Rules are changed by sequence of internalization processes. In this manner the intolerable gap is bridged.

The next phase is "reaffirmation" when the old and new elements are synthesized in and by a social movement. A classic example of this type of accommodating syncretism is of course the prophet Handsome Lake and his followers who under deeply religious collective inspiration became highly modernized in this synchronized process, ending up with a modern economy and a religiously regenerated social life.

The most exciting stage is the phase of "reconstitution", a term applied by the authors to define the innovative results when the group or tribe well-versed now in the two cultural frameworks and completely confident with the new self-designed and self-styled synthesis makes a giant leap by incorporating innovative aspects to the whole socio-cultural frame of reference. Dohrenwend and Smith quote as examples the indigeneous reactions of the Araucanians to their sudden but long lasting and intensive contacts with the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries. At first the Araucanians were almost at random picking out some features which impressed them instantly in their dealings with the Spanish invaders. By the time the invaders had become oppressors, the contacts had been mostly military, then more political and then finally they became religious. However the Araucanians got on their own feet during the final religious phase of acculturation by building up their own authentic symbolic framework: not copying their conquistadores but outdoing them completely in their own religious ingenuity and cultural creativity.

Critique: This theoretical construct is soundly based on some related social scientific concepts but it lacks Wallace's seminal overall thrust and theoretical precision. Above all it seems lacking in sociological imagination in the sense brought out by C. Wright Mills' study of that name.

Yet it is necessary to have this type of theoretical construct in order to encompass acculturation on this intermediate level of abstraction. On the other hand, it does not clarify how social movements and innovations are interwoven, part and parcel, in some group process of joint re-identification. It fails to account for the group dynamics of social change: what was the original bond of the group in crisis and which variables most likely cause the initial break-down of the societal system and the symbolic framework. Yet the authors are themselves aware of the limits to their construct and at the end of the descriptive introduction to their theoretical sketch they suggest some basic questions to be posed in order to initiate systematic research in the field of acculturation.

In my judgement far from enough theoretical justification has been given for the four specific stages. Or are they just given to sketch potential avenues of development of this process, never mind the exact sequences? Also it is confusing that only to the first stage an almost heavily overloaded, often overused terms has been assigned like of all names: "alienation", whereas to the other three stages almost meaningless rather non-descriptive names have been given: reorientation, reaffirmation and reconstitution.

A basic question now arises: is this attempt at theorizing grounded or are the elements not really holding together by an inherent logic? (Compare Grounded Theory by Glazer and Strauss) Granted, there is some rationale to the whole model, because it attempts to come to terms with the whole process of acculturation.[31] For analytical purposes, its schematic outline may be helpful to pinpoint the most likely sequence of events and provide a grid to survey a variety of related acculturation movements. However, it does not zero in on millenarian movements nor cargo cults nor revitalization movements and their internal dynamics; it only tries to work out a very universal model of acculturation processes in different societies and at various periods in time. As is so alarmingly typical for functional analysis, it does not allow theoretical space for development in historical perspective.

My main objection is that I sense simplifying functionalist overtones when the authors are defining culture and norms.

> A cultural system can be viewed as consisting of sets of ordered, interdependent activities. Each concrete instance of such structured activities, in turn, may be assigned to one of a number of realms or orders: political, economic, religious, educational, medical and social-recreational . . . These rules for their part have the power to dictate conduct either by virtue of having been internalized by most of the individuals engaged in the activities or by virtue of the higher authority which enables some individuals to impose their wills on others, or both. The rules, together with the activities following from them, may be termed "norms".[32]

This definition--so typical for its narrowly functionalist assumptions--brings out exactly all the dimensions of societal reality which are left out of this approach. Well known functionalist assumptions about the so-called interdependence between the normative and social system, the social economic and political systems which are given space--yes--but subordinated to the all pervasive normative system invariably lead to severe underestimation of the movement itself which brings about the acculturation. This so-called automatic complying with norms and mechanical playing of prescribed roles by individuals and groups totally submerged in the normative system leads to reification of norms and values. The whole narrow perspective makes the authors here miss the essence of an acculturation movement: the fully humanly conscious group mobilizing its resources in a critical but eventually redemptive process on both a deeply religious and completely secular plateau: an emergency movement to rescue what is yet viable of the old framework and add what is highly desirable of the alien invading system.

> . . . what Parsons and other grand theorists call 'value-orientations' and 'normative structure' has mainly to do with master symbols of legitimation. This is indeed a useful and important subject. The relations of such symbols to the structure of institutions are among the most important problems of social science. Such symbols however do not form some autonomous realm within a society; their social relevance lies in their use to justify or to oppose the arrangement of power and the positions within this arrangement of the powerful.[33]

Both Wallace and Burridge transcend the artificially constraining boundaries of functionalism. They do make room for people and individuals acting out of despair about the socio-economic and political predicament they suddenly find themselves in. These theorists do assume that social actors are not just wrapped up in playing out prescribed roles and conforming to norms and behavioral patterns embedded in an all encompassing cultural system--supposedly the "top layer" in the all determining and pervasive cultural dimension of Parsons' set of patterned variables.

A. D. Smith in his recent study, Functionalism and Social Change, systematically analyses functionalism and its dealing with--or not dealing with--social change. He wrote an excellent critique on the manner functionalists have circumvented the real societal actors in history. The assumption that history moves unilaterally in a somewhat mysteriously controlled cybernetic process--by continuously adjusting its course, undoing any slight deviating curve or move downwards--has caused great distortions in functionalist analysis. The theoretical construct of a societal system that incessantly gravitates towards an equilibrium by balancing out perceived strains and stresses, leaves out human individuals as autonomous actors in any given historical or present circumstances. It smooths out conflict and clashes by persistently overemphasizing the so-called "natural" equilibrium towards which the system is supposed to be moving at all times. It disregards human initiative and individual decision making. It fails completely to come to terms with the social dynamics of any given social movement because it does not conceive of groups of people choosing their own course in history.

Nor does it acknowledge that within given complex social economic and political circumstances different groups of people or different segments of society or classes could be mobilizing their resources in very different manners (compare the study by Oberschal on Social Conflict and Social Movements). A revolutionary movement does have its own rationale for being a social movement the way it is:

> We are insulated from the prejudgements contained in the dichotomies rational/irrational and secular/religious. If a general rationality and order among human beings and their affairs are not assumed from the start, sociological analysis must founder. The label "irrational" tends to become a portmanteau of ethnocentric prejudices, for faith is faith whether thought of as religious or secular. More positively, with this definition we can identify activities and movements of generally millenarian type where the words "God", "deity", or "spiritual being" or their synonyms in other languages are not in evidence.[34]

How acculturation is mostly a dynamic two-way process is further elaborated by Caldarola in his critical discussion of Dohrenwend and Smith's framework (in Introduction to Christianity: The Japanese Way. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1979). Caldarola distinguishes more concisely than was done in the model under discussion, which factors are crucial during the whole process, especially when the final outcome of acculturation is what Dohrenwend and Smith term "reconstitution". He goes beyond this framework by differentiating between material and spiritual cultures and by suggesting that usually artifacts and technology can be more easily absorbed by the existing so-called receiving culture than spiritual dimensions such as values, norms and human relationships. In other words: a whole symbolic framework cannot be passed on in a wholesale and neutral manner by the donor culture to the receiver. As Caldarola puts it: it has to be grafted onto the existing patterns of behavior with which it should be fully compatible. If not, rejection will follow.

> By virtue of their own personal limitations, the communicating individuals can never transmit their culture in its entirety; that part of their cultural inventory which they do transmit is determined both by their motivations for making the contact and by the actual intersubjective interpretation of these motivations which occur in the specific acculturative situation. A classic illustration of the latter process is the misinterpretation of the "needs" of native peoples . . . Thus intercultural communication is a product of purpose and cross-purpose, resulting in highly selective patterning of contacts in which perceived reality is the effective mediator in the determination of compatibility . . . Hence acculturation is not a passive or colorless absorption by the receiving culture; it is essentially a creative and culture-producing process, particularly when unforced.[35]

j) Revolt and Revolution in Historical Perspective and their Relevance to Millenarian Movements

The French Revolution has been defined as a watershed: the beginning of modern history. There has been a tendency to evaluate revolutions in terms of what the French Revolution tried to accomplish. Ellul suggests that revolt and rebellion were typical of the medieval and early modern scene, up to the eighteenth century. As he shows in his historical and sociological analysis of the phenomenon "revolution", it was the French Revolution that was the first major consciously planned and systematically implemented form of social change by overthrowing the existing system.[36]

However, I feel that any interpretation of the French Revolution should also account for "modern" aspects present in earlier revolutions like the Dutch 16th century revolt, the English Revolution and the American Revolution. How "modern" all these revolutions were is not so much a matter of debate but of degree. (Compare Peter Aman, The Eighteenth Century Revolution, French or Western, Heath and Company, Boston, 1963). What has been fascinating to me during the analysis of millenarian movements is to keep this historical perspective on revolution and social change in mind. To what degree is the group mobilization process and the outcome of such movements "modern", "revolutionary"; and to what degree is the whole phenomenon of millennialism "reactionary", "retrogressive", i. e. avoiding changes, rejecting reforms and projecting back towards a lost and idealized past. At this point some aspects of revolution, especially the French Revolution, may be relevant.

If a revolution is conceived as a secular group mobilization for total change of society and revolt as a more inarticulate pre-modern form of protest calling for a return to a better past within the given sacred frame of authority--then where and when would millenarian movements as religious futuristic rebellions fit in?

> We may ask ourselves when (prophetic movements) will occur. Some factors may be named: oppression, internal tensions, sudden changes, catastrophes, diseases, poverty. It is true that where all of these factors occur, prophetic movements will frequently arise. Sometimes, however, a secular revolutionary (nationalistic) movement may arise instead, or else an organized attempt at economic betterment, for instance through the foundation of cooperatives . . . These are functional equivalents which weaken the rule: 'where such and such conditions are fulfilled, a prophetic movement will arise'.[37]

The religious dimension present in each movement has not been very popular among sociologists in the 20th century, so-called modern and rational. Religion in general has been for some time an almost ambiguous dimension, not fitting in with the logical positivistic doctrine that dominates the social sciences.

> The comparative study of religion has always been plagued by this peculiar embarrassment: the elusiveness of its subject matter. The problem is not one of constructing definitions of religion. We have quite enough of those; their number is a symptom of our malaise. It is a matter of discovering just what sorts of beliefs and practices support what sorts of faith under what sorts of conditions. Our problem, and it grows worse by the day, is not to define religion but to find it.[38]

Revolutions and revolutionary movements are related in many ways, for example, in the aspects of mass engagement and charismatic role of leaders. Social movements and millenarian movements are related along the same lines" they involve irrationally and deeply emotionally engaged followers, and they show charismatic leadership. Moreover, there is the dominant perspective of fervent hopes, strong and collective feelings manifesting themselves after long accelerating initiation rites or conversion sessions (see Hoffer, Gerlach and Hine, Toch). Even though millenarian movements are obviously more frequently found in Third World countries, many social and revolutionary movements in the "developed" parts of the world appear to have strong millenarian characteristics. (See Cohn, Hobsbawn, Thrupp, Talmon, Gusfield)

While keeping "social change" and "revolution" in mind, it would be useful to explore the reactionary and revolutionary elements in millenarianism by looking at some of the movements, their "programs", and their initial and final actions. Frequently, the beautiful dream would turn into obsession with violence. What makes people revolt? (Compare Ellul's study Autopsy of Revolution.)

A millenarian movement--when compared to a "real revolution"--may not be a revolt or rebellion at all, but rather a form of escapism. In some cases, the millenarian programs or their emerging aims were vague and idealistic;

in other cases they were precise, pragmatic and radical. One wonders whether they were at times reactionary and/or at other times revolutionary, or perhaps both at all times.

Further, millenarian movements are often amorphous, about which only scanty information is to be gained, especially in non-literate societies. Concepts of metahistorical time are hard to grasp in theory. How to conceptualize the intensive, frantic fanatical preparations during a miserably frustrating present, looking toward a better ideal time, a golden age which is supposed to come almost immediately? The adherents to the movement are torn between suffering experiences of an impossible present projecting fantastically towards a dream reality of the future while assuming this golden age is to crystallize right then. By getting carried away in these illusive revolutionary projections--which they are experiencing already as imminent full reality in their own present time--they are making a leap into a totally transcending level of existence.[39]

Cohn, in his Pursuit of Millennium, is focussing on the uprooted and disoriented poor who cannot bear their daily fate any longer. They therefore follow the religiously driven leader into violent extremes of religious and utopian undertakings. There may be no definitive program, but there is a strong sense of justice. The coming of the Final Judgement ought to be speeded up.

The idea of a near holocaust is on people's minds.

People revolt when their daily lives become unbearable, as Ellul describes in his Autopsy of Revolution. When the present human situation is frustrating, uprooting and humiliating, the revolutionary fantasy projects towards the future while idealizing parts of the past on a very selective basis. For example, when the Ghost Dance was spreading among the Western American Indians, they were in total despair. It was a case of multiple deprivation (Glock and Stark). No strictly causative explanation can predict for sure that the millenarian movement will erupt in a predetermined way.[40] Lanternari and others have cited cases where all sufficient conditions were present, yet revolt did not break out.[41]

Ellul[42] seems to suggest that revolutions evolve from "primitive" or "pre-modern" to "fully modern". Nisbet[43]--although agreeing that the French Revolution was "radicalizing", "modernizing" and "secularizing" to a very high degree--argues that the whole development of social thought since the French Revolution has been only partly radical and partly traditional, reactionary or even religious. (See his analysis of the five basic unit ideas in The Sociological Tradition.) Eliade defines the total framework of any society--"primitive" or "modern" --as religious. Revolutions, however "radical" or "secular", could be analysed together with millenarian movements in the same perspective. Models and theories could be fruitfully exchanged.

Broadly speaking, from the 12th to the 18th century, there were countless rebellions, but no full blown revolution in the modern sense of the French Revolution. The English and American Revolutions have some modern dimensions, but up to 1789, there was no absolute concept of freedom. Only partial and concrete liberties were aimed at. The medieval chronicles tend to record an uninterrupted "flow" of events. Revolution was unthought of. Revolt was, but "anchored" in history and looking back at an idealized past. Revolt was both reactionary and mystical, always rejecting the present state of affairs and the immediate past. Instead, there was a strong longing for a return to the good old times, whereas there never was a doctrine for the future. If projecting at all towards a vague future, it would be a visionary search for an egalitarian millennium.

Revolt then, was first of all religiously inspired. Social, economic and political issues might come in as second thoughts: the basic context and content of the revolutionary movement remained religious. As Machiavelli saw it, too: the late medieval and early modern area of "revoluzione" was a "rinnovazione", a fresh start of the past, a return to a pre-determined point that had been mistakenly left. Not a break-away from the past, but a return to the past was on people's minds. There was no doctrine for the future. If the movement happened to evolve into a revolt of grand proportions, then it could culminate as Ellul puts it "in a march toward The Advent". It could help bring about the final judgement of all mankind, as the participants in medieval movements envisioned it so often: Joachim di Fiore, Cola di Rienzo, Watt Tyler, Thomas Muenzer, Johan van Leyden.

Revolution is associated with an abrupt and profound change in society, especially in its political system. When coming into use in the 16th century, the word revolution implied astronomical connotations. As Arendt puts it:

> Revolution became an astronomical metaphor for a phenomenon of cosmic proportions: a revolution of General Will.[44]

In the setting of the traditional society, revolution was not thought of. Jacques Ellul[45] and Robert Nisbet[46] elaborate on the fact that all revolutionary movements before the French Revolution were not true revolutions in the modern sense. They saw the French Revolution itself as a watershed. After that shocking and uprooting historical event, the gates had been opened forever by the Jacobins in their persistent, ruthless and literal application of Rousseau's ideas of "la Voluntée Générale". The world of politics had dramatically changed. Authority was sacred until the Jacobins made it profane.

Robin Hood typified beautifully revolt within the social religious context of a traditional society. This type of banditry was endemic in such traditional societies as analysed by Hobsbawn. The "do-gooder" would suddenly appear on the local scene with his heart-warming and harmless kind of charity. He does not even put a finger on the wrongs and evils of the social system; he leaves the status quo as is.

As Hobsbawn pictures in Primitive Rebels: the rebel leaders, in the traditional society, were bandits of the Robin Hood type. They were undertaking a romantic enterprise of revolt in a folk style. The bandit appears on the scene before there is any trace of class consciousness among the suppressed poor. Banditry then is defined as an endemic phenomenon in traditional rural societies.[47] When the traditional equilibrium breaks down--Robin Hoodism rises to the foreground, as was the case in some backwards parts of Europe in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, in Southern Italy, Sicily and Spain (Andalusia). In contrast to revolution, social banditry is a rather modest and not truly revolutionary form of protest. There are no discernible calls for equality.

The French Revolution, then, was the first total revolution. It was not simply a spontaneous outburst out of frustration with an unbearable situation. Rousseau wrote the blueprint which Robespierre was going to apply. There was religious but not Christian fervor--a fervor sanctifying the total secularization of human acting and thinking.

This secularized crusading spirit of violence was used as a matter of tactical routine, and it too was almost religiously justified. Religion was abolished but the Red Republicanism founded on Rousseau's idealized concept of general will was equally religious. The de-Christinaization decrees of the Reign of Terror were planned to eradicate the whole western European tradition in one big sweep. A new secular millennium was purposely started on a national scale: a fully secular calendar was introduced to brainwash the minds of the people and erase all memories and symbols related to a forcefully rejected past. (Compare in case of more narrowly defined millenarian movements where one societal group is "re-weaving" its web of symbolic meanings.) Revolution and millenary movements have in common the dimension of human hope: fervent hopes, high expectations, intensified collective projections. Originally--going back into history --these hopes and projections were all embedded in the religious context of the total society.

However, the boundaries between so-called "fully secularized" and "still religious" forms of collective movement and revolt are partly fading and partly overlapping, even in our "modern", "western" society. Many revolutionaries--both leaders and followers--are somehow "religious" to a very high degree while engaged in the process of bringing about change. They see it as their "calling" to act collectively to change society. Neither Machiavelli nor Marx for that matter were fully "secularized" in their visions of human free will up against the powerful circumstances in society. Even the Jacobins, manipulators of the spell-bound and totally dedicated revolutionary crowds--while violently implementing what they claimed were totally secularizing changes in French society--did not execute their radical revolutionary program without religious nor millenarian overtones. On the contrary, they forcefully introduced a brand new collective religion with new symbols and dogmas.

The "religious" or millenarian dimension in all revolutionary movements remains a returning phenomenon, inherent in collective human acting. Its powerful drive is extraordinary. It transforms the followers into servants of the leader (totally dedicated, participating until the bitter end) blindly executing orders from the "holy above all" authority. This type of irrational "modern" mass movement is a recurring human phenomenon. These symptoms of collective madness are not restricted to mass movements on the macro scale; they can appear equally well on the micro level of smaller groups where the "we" feelings are getting out of hand.

In Brinton's model of revolution--mostly based on the French Revolution--the leader is both idealistic and pragmatic. He has to be a propagandist and agitator with hypnotising capabilities. Simultaneously, he is an organizer and a dogmatic formulator of the ideology.[48] Brinton envisions revolution as a fever taking over the whole body at an accellerated speed; many of his analytical terms have metaphoric overtones.

An innovative approach towards religious dimensions in societal reality has become manifest in contemporary sociology. This is what Eliade terms "total approach", "creative hermeutics" and he wishfully states that a Nietzsche should have dedicated himself to the interpretation of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy instead of having the "job" done so scientifically and in a highly specialized compartimentalized way by so-called scientific but not very creative experts. In Eliade's view, the hermeneutics done by the narrowly trained experts amounts to just technological work in a strictly mechanical way. Truly hermeneutic work on religions should be performed by universal historians of religion because they only are prepared to understand the relevant documents: "to illuminate primitive universes".[49]

Moreover, the religious dimension and the total commitment of the individuals to the transcendental "holy" cause can be found in similar apparently related modern mass movements (Compare Cohn, Hoffer, Gerlack and Hine, Banks, Toch, Gusfield, Tucker). The resort to religious appeal is in most cases sincere and not often manipulative. Millenarian leaders can politically awaken followers, by making them conscious of their own unique identity. Deprived groups can be pulled into the mainstream of society by active and inspired participation in this kind of group identity and consciousness-raising. The whole millenarian movement becomes a link to a further political development.

> It lubricates passage from pre-modern religious revolt to full-fledged revolutionary movement.[50]

A millenarian movement may have a strongly unifying impact.

> It usually evokes exceptionally intense commitment and fervor and since exaltation eases communications, millenarianism expands swiftly almost by contagion, cross cutting and breaking local barriers. It widens horizons of identification and participation and creates wider unities . . . so, it can be termed a "potent agent of change" . . . it invests the struggle with aura of final cosmic drama.[51]

> moreover . . . it has the power to bridge future and past in creative synthesis between new and old, couches messages in powerful and familiar language and images of traditional religion.[52]
>
> Also important is the specific mechanism of recruitment of new leaders and new followers by exerting both a strongly collective and directly individual appeal. Externalization and sanctification of source of authority puts leaders above sectional loyalties.[53]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Ross V. Speck and Carolyn Attneave, *Family Networks. A Way Toward Retribalization and Healing in Family Crisis* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), p. 6.

[2] Rolf E. Rogers, *Max Weber's Ideal Type Theory* (New York: 1969), pp. 43-44.

[3] Robert C. Tucker, "The Theory of Charismatic Leadership," in *Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership* (New York: 1970), pp. 82-83.

[4] K. Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth. A Study of Millenarian Activities* (Toronto: 1969), p. 142.

[5] Michael Barkum, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 108.

[6] Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (Revised Edition; Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 281.

[7] Ibid., p. 283.

[8] Ibid., p. 284.

[9] Ibid., p. 285.

[10] Ibid.

[11] E. J. Hobsbawn, Primitive Rebels, *Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movements in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: 1959).

[12] Barkum, op. cit., p. 72.

[13] In general, the medieval urban centers (although fair sized: 10,000-15,000 inhabitants) do not qualify to be termed "fully urbanized" according to Sjoberg's ideal-typical definition: complex division of labor, achieve-

ment-oriented class system, diffused social power, conjugal family ties only, highly trained specialist and mass literacy and permissive norms. Such "modern" conditions were yet in the making.

[14] Compare Donald Weinstein, "The Myth of Florence," in Millennial Dreams in Action, ed. Sylvia Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970).

[15] Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (Harvest Books, 1936), p. 2.

[16] Bryan Wilson, Magic and Millennium (New York: 1973), p. 27.

[17] Hobsbawn in Primitive Rebels, also shows many instances of multiple disasters hitting people in certain areas, "burned over districts", for example, Andalusia. Waves of millenarian movements kept the peasants agitating after a whole series of famines first of all had struck that province extremely heavily; 1812, 1817, 1834-35, 1863, 1868, 1882, 1905.

[18] Barkum, op. cit., p. 63.

[19] Taken from a description by N. Sukhanov, cited in I. Deutscher, Stalin; A Political Biography (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 140.

[20] Robert Tucker, op. cit., p. 83.

[21] Mannheim, op. cit., p. 211.

[22] Dohrenwend and Smith, "Toward a Theory of Acculturation," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology; "Acculturative Contact: Some Dimensions in Search of a Typology," Annual Meeting of A. S. A. (New York: 1960).

[23] "Memorandum for Study of Acculturation," American Anthropologist, 38 (1936), pp. 149-152.

[24] Acculturation: The Study of Cultural Contact (Gloucester, Mass.: 1938).

[25] Dohrenwend and Smith, op. cit.

[26] Antony Wallace, *Religion. An Anthropological Perspective* (Random House, 1966), p. 161.

[27] Ibid., p. 162. Also Compare Michael Adas, *Prophets of the Rebellion*, Chapter 7, "Rebellion, Suppression and Impact," (Chapel Hill: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

[28] Wallace, op. cit., p. 161.

[29] Ibid.,

[30] Dohrenwend and Smith, op. cit., p. 34.

[31] Compare analytical discussion of Dohrenwend and Smith by C. Caldarola who applied this model in his study *Christianity: The Japanese Way* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), pp. 1-20.

[32] Dohrenwend and Smith, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

[33] C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, p. 37.

[34] Burridge, op. cit.

[35] Caldarola, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

36 [36] Jacques Ellul, *Autopsy of Revolution* (New York: 1971).

[37] As quoted from Kobben, *The Logic of Cross-cultural Analysis: Why Exceptions*, p. 39. In Smelser, *Comparative Methods in the Social Sciences*, p. 300, specifically, and the whole chapter on "Classification, Description and Measurement" and on "Association, Cause, Explanation and Theory".

[38] Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed. Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (1968), p. i.

[39] Compare Y. Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium: The Relation Between Religious and Social Change," Archives Européennes de Sociologie (Vol. 3; 1962), pp. 125-148.

[40] "The Ghost Dance was a doctrine of hope, and incidentally, of cultural revival. One of its consequences was revival of Indian culture on the basis of millenarian promise. Restructuring occurred on the basis of the promise, of course, rather than on the basis of an actual return to buffalo hunting and institutionalized tribal warring." J. T. Borhek and R. F. Curtis, A Sociology of Belief (1975), p. 94.

". . . commitment may be interpreted as resulting from the fact that the belief system adopted is more rewarding in some way than the ones rejected or not selected. This is not to say that millenarianism was the only option either in the Middle Ages or among the Plains Indians in the late 1880's. Nor does it mean that what is rewarding is always that which has an optimistic projected outcome. The selection process is often described in terms of rather complex models of resonance or elective affinities." Stark and Gerth and Mills.

"These terms mean that groups under strain elect beliefs that have utility--that are rewarding, for example. This is the gist of Weber's statement that the rich are seldom satisfied to be rich; they must believe that their good fortune is justified." Ibid., p. 95.

[41] Compare Sylvia Thrupp's Millennial Dreams in Action, pp. 55-69, discussion of ideal types like the one by Ribeiro. Many explanations end up becoming reductionist; all millenarianism reduced to deprivation. However, there are many other dimensions. As Ribeiro points out, there is asthetic appeal in the movements, need for dramatic experience and appeal to new type of leadership; charismatic. Compare also the need for religious ritualism in each society or group. See Johan Huizinga, Homo Ludens, translated from Dutch into The Play Element in Culture. Also compare S. F. Moore and B. Meyerhoff (eds.) Symbol and Politics in Communal Ideology, Chapter 1, "Organization and Ecstacy", and Chapter 2, "Symbol and Festival" (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 27-100.

[42] Ellul, op. cit.

[43] R. A. Nisbet, The Social Philosophers: Community and Conflict (New York: 1973).

[44] Hannah Arendt, On Revolution (New York: Viking Congress Edition, 1965), pp. 53-54.

[45] Ellul, op. cit.

[46] Nisbet, op. cit.

[47] Compare Hobsbawn's chapters "The Social Bandit" and "Mafia" in Primitive Rebels: ". . . social banditry has next to no organization nor ideology, and is totally inadaptable to modern social movements. Mafia is an institutionalized system of law outside the official law. Hobsbawn analyses specific types of cities in southern Europe where authority of king or pope living in the city was conceived of by the citizen as sacred. It could never be violated in a true revolution. The ruler symbolized and represented the people. He could be evil, but still his authority was sacred, God-ordained.

In a similar way in Hopper's model the revolutionary leader has to have both irrational and rational characteristics. He should be very versatile by being able to play the role of prophet, radical, extremist, but also of a moderator, practical reformer, planning statesman and bureaucratic organizer. Different types of revolutionary movements require different types of leaders, depending on which period in history, and which kind of revolution. See T. H. Greene, Comparative Revolutionary Movements (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1974).

[48] Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution, Chapter 2, "Types of Revolutionists" (New York: Vintage Books, 1952).

[49] Compare: Elidade, The Quest for History and Meaning of Religion; Berger, The Sacred Canopy; Luckman, The Invisible Religion; Greeley, Unsecular Man; Bellah, The Broken Covenant; and Mol, Identity and the Sacred.

[50] Y. Talmon, Notes Critiques on Millenialism, p. 143.

[51] Ibid., p. 141.

[52] Ibid., pp. 141-142.

[53] Ibid. Compare Gerlach and Hine's chapter on "Recruitment", and Essien-Udom, Chapters "The Nation: Its Growth"; and "The Way Out", in Black Nationalism. The Rise of the Black Muslims in the U. S. A. (1966); and Lincoln, The Black Muslims (1969), pp. 33-50.

CHAPTER III

THE IDEAL-TYPE OF CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

a) Max Weber's Contribution

Weber stated that charismatic leaders have been the "natural leaders" in times of psychic, ethical, religious, political distress. Charisma, he said, inspires its followers with "a devotion born of distress and enthusiasm". In times of great anxiety the charismatic leader is perceived by acclamation to be the messianic savior, first by a small intimate circle of close followers, then by a widening group often rapidly accelerating into a large movement.

The initial gestation period is quite crucial. If the charismatic leader fails to establish these primary group relations by repeatedly showing his supernatural powers--for example, by performing "miracles"--this movement will not get off the ground. From miracles on a small scale demonstrated in his immediate circle and consisting for example of healing and forecasting, he may then branch out into major charismatic operations like initiating revolutionary changes, even calling for a war.

Weber's concept of charismatic leadership has had a deep impact on social scientists. But the various formulations given by Weber himself--complex, profound but somewhat ambiguous--have generated great disagreement as to what Weber really meant by the whole concept. No consensus may ever be reached. The most thought-provoking aspect of Weber's formula has been "the essence of charisma--not a leadership based on proven successful performance nor on specific dignity, but a unique gift of grace: charisma. By this the leader is set apart from other men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least exceptional powers or qualities." (Weber, Theory of Social and Economic Organization, 1947, p. 358.)

Of particular relevance to our present study is the question: should charismatic leadership remain confined to the religious realms, or can it be equally well applied in such secular areas as political leadership? Loewenstein prefers to restrict its use to religiously inspired leadership. He differentiates between "modern world versus traditional society", i. e. those parts of Africa and Asia yet enchanted by the "magico-religious ambiance".

Originally Weber found the term in Rudolph Sohm's Kirchenrecht, 1892. Sohm conceived of charismatic leadership as generated by a transcendental call from a divine being in whom both followers and leaders believe. Weber broadened the term and built it into a theoretical concept; he also extended its application by using it for several forms of leadership in modern totalitarian states. Loewenstein disagrees with Weber on this application, he suggests instead that modern demagogues like Hitler do not qualify as charismatic leaders because they are solely preoccupied with access to power and how to maintain it at all cost.[1]

It is not a simple matter to distill from Weber's complex writing a clear inventory of charismatic prerequisites. (Compare J. Ratham, "Charisma and Political Leadership", Political Studies, 12, N 3, 1964, pp. 344-354.) Tucker defines Weber's concept as very relevant to modern societies, too. However, he questions the stand taken by several scholars like Apter, Shils, Dorothy and Ann Rattwill, who place charismatic leadership in the context of modernization in Third World countries. Charisma according to these authors is a very recent and necessary crystallization of traditional elements, still so alive in these societies engaged in the often stressful process of modernization.[2] Here Weber's ideal-type is matched with many case histories of contemporary development, from traditional--through charismatic--to rational-legal leadership. This forceful procedure of nation-building in a short stretch of time may cause severe dislocation and disorientation because of imminent rapid industrialization and urbanization imposed by the "metropolis". The "hinterland" segment of the nation in the making may suffer an acute identity vacuum, unless the charismatic leader can generate identification with a new community on a nationwide scale.

Tucker in his rewording of Weber's concept wants to preserve the universal application: non-bureaucratic leadership sanctioned by spontaneous devotion, profound enthusiasm and sincere respect. Leaders and followers alike belong to a closely knit community, a primary group, a true Gemeinschaft, a form of communism in the original meaning of the word.[3] The followers are under the leader's spell because of his exceptional gifts: he exercises a domination over them. They are enchanted by his personal leadership qualities. However, he must demonstrate and reinforce his charisma over and again in a tireless effort in order not to break the spell. It is not just a matter of becoming a charismatic leader but how to be continuously perceived in that "enchanting" manner.

From a logical point of view, no routinization of charisma appears feasible. Charisma--exceptional God-given gifts in the leader--cannot be routinized because it would be a contradiction in terms. Yet Weber made it one of the main tenets of his ideal-type. How then can the charisma embodied in the one person be depersonalized and then transferred to another person? Is routinization a sort of mechanism of success?

Weber hinted at the ambiguities involved in this process of routinization. Reports on millenarian movements give abundant examples of failure of routinization; instead the charisma of the departed leader keeps lingering on, even more, in many instances may add new impetus to the movement. (See Cohn, Hobsbawn, Lanternari, Worsley, Sundkler, Adas.) The clue to grasping Weber's incisive writing on this form of leadership may be found in his general conceptualization of three stages in societal development. Appelbaum in his insightful brief theoretical sketch on social change dedicates some pertinent chapters to Durkheim, Marx and Weber's visions of change. Appelbaum epitomizes the essential elements of these various theoretical concepts by putting the abbreviated formulas of social change into a one-page chart. There Weber's model is classified under a cyclical type of social change, and charismatic leadership is conceived of as the beginning of a new cycle of societal development.

Weber himself was fascinated with the phenomenon of charisma, especially during the later part of his career when he became increasingly "disenchanted" with what he termed increasing rationalization and bureaucratization manifest in western European societies. His most impressive theoretical constructs of traditional, charismatic and legal-rational forms of authority hinge on his own growing aversion toward the latter stage. It is interesting to notice that one of Weber's famous students, the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga, wrote in a similarly disenchanted mood about developments in western Europe in the 1930's. These pessimistic reflections on the course of societal events were the leading theme of Huizinga's study, In the Shadow of Tomorrow.[4] There may be a nostalgic longing for a less rational society. This mood may have become the prism that colored Huizinga's thinking and made him identify so exceptionally well with that period in late medieval history which also was projecting back toward an idealized past. (See earlier discussion of Huizinga's concept of social change.)

b) Wilson and Edelman on the Concept of Charisma

Brian Wilson is one of the main contributors to research on millenarian movements. His basic assumption is that they are a phenomenon of the past, typical only of traditional societies. His complex argument--which deserves close attention because of its profound and scholarly argumentation--centers on the concept and degree of "secularization". Wilson implies that increasing secularization has made millenarianism an anachronism.

To return to Weber for a moment--who had coined the term charisma so incisively--his ideal-type was not based on pre-literate societies, since his research centered mostly on historical societies. Wilson prefers to reserve the term "charisma" for pre-literate societies. His case is based on extensive research on the millennium, witness his major contribution Magic and Millennium.[5] This outstanding study is both historical, sociological and theoretical. In a later book, The Noble Savages,[6] the potential socio-cultural milieu of millenarian movements is scrutinized, and the author ponders in depth about "charisma" and what it entails. He is essentially a Weberian, although he also incorporates dimensions of Marx's thought into his work. Magic and Millennium is an excellent example of how opposing strands of 19th and 20th century sociological thought can be combined in a fruitful manner.

Through the prism of charisma, Wilson juxtaposes modern and preliterate societies. He singles out certain dimensions in the latter which make the social milieu congenial to the rise of millenarianism. For instance, there is no role differentiation: persons and their qualities are perceived as a Gestalt. Transcendental beliefs are dominant and not "rational", calculating skills nor instrumental expertise; human groups crystallize on the base of these beliefs. Ties that cement people together are deeply emotional and followers are attached to the leader in an expressive and holistic manner. Roles and people, then, are not segmentized. Here Wilson appears to operationalize rather impressively the pattern variables of Parsons: the relationships are ascriptive rather than universalistic, particularistic rather than general.

Wilson further suggests that Western scientific thinking is based on a radically different perspective of reality which is now not perceived any more as an extension of oneself nor according to a personal idiom. In other words: abstract conceptualizations have undone anthropomorphic images. It is only in the setting of a traditional society that the cognitive function of thinking is still fully interwoven with the emotional and evaluative dimensions.[7]

Moreover, Wilson returns to Toennies' Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. He juxtaposes these concepts with all their potential illusions and connotations in a somewhat evolutionary perspective. What was so typical for the Gemeinschaft-type of society has become obsolete for the Gesellschaft-type of development. Millenarian movements have become a thing of the remote past, or a small scale phenomenon in backward enclaves contained by the major society. Sub-cultures have remained alive and viable, even though, or exactly because, the mainstream society has exerted pressure and become a direct threat.

Focussing on the basic differences between the two types of society under discussion here, Wilson summarized his views:

> Faith is easier than empirical analysis, innate nobility a more congenial idea than cultivated learning . . . nobility becomes an anachronism in the modern world. It is not the product of our socialization procedures, educational systems, psychological theories, or techniques of social selection. It has ceased to be regarded as a possible pinnacle of human endeavour. It persists only as a disposition of faith for those, at the social margins, with the will to believe in something that is in origin primitive.[8]

Wilson then goes on to describe what makes modern society truly "modern" in his vision.

> We live in a post-moral age, in which rights and wrongs of behaviour are increasingly determined by purely technical considerations . . . the appeal of charisma, of the man whose supernatural nobility and power would save us, is primitive.[9]

Charisma then according to Wilson's interpretation can only be re-enacted in a romanticising manner by harking back to a remote idealized past. So,

> it retains its emotional attraction, it is simple to understand, and its appeal to the sheer humanness of man as an utterly radical alternative to the oppressiveness of advanced technological society, whether capitalistic or socialist. Charismatic thus is outdated. Within the institutional arrangements of society--and politics

> and religion are traditionally the areas most receptive--charisma persists only as a shadowy item.[10]

On the other hand, Wilson warns that Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy may have been drawn in a too abstract manner, as if the modern system of government is only functioning as a "complex, sustained and immensely elaborate structure of action". However, that can only be the sophisticated perspective of Weber, the methodologist himself. Individuals even in modern society may yet perceive the social system in far more anthropomorphic terms and above all, images.

People today as in the past are under the continuous illusion that there must be some powerful forces--more or less personified--at work behind the scenes of abstract power display. But here Wilson only allows for some remnants of charisma. For instance, while he is explaining how the concept and mechanism of modern democracy is actually based on rationality, on men being fully rational beings and aware of their own interests, even capable of making adequate choices--

> The political scientists maintain a hidden campaign (at times but thinly veiled) against what they see as irrational elements in the political system, emphasizing the possibility of "rational" choices, and excoriating "deference", "ethnic prejudice", "backlash" and by implication "charisma".[11]

In Wilson's view there is only a residual acknowledgement of the marginal importance of the personal qualities of the leading politicians, because other more objective criteria are lacking.

Edelman in The Symbolic Uses of Politics[12] reaches conclusions about political leadership in modern society which are diametrically opposed to Wilson's thesis. He conceives of the whole administrative system of government as a symbol-system itself. In further analysis he shows how so-called "rational" voting behavior may be termed an optical illusion artificially created by strictly statistical manipulations or biased positivistic assumptions.

> Leadership is a complex and subtle thing, and we are learning to look for its dynamics in mass responses, not in static characteristics of individuals.[13]
>
> If they respond favorably and follow, there is leadership; if they do not, there is not.[14]

Edelman allows for charismatic forms of leadership in any kind of social milieu, including modern society. Instead of emphasizing rationality as symptomatic for "being modern", he selects "anxiety" and "being at a loss". Here his vision appears to coalesce with that of Erich Fromm.

> Alienation, anomie, despair of being able to chart one's course in a complex cold and bewildering world have become characteristic of a large part of the population of advanced countries as the world can be neither understood nor influenced, attachment to reassuring abstract symbols rather

> than to one's own efforts becomes chronic. And what symbol can be more reassuring than the incumbent of a high position who knows what to do and is willing to act, especially when others are bewildered and alone? Because such a symbol is so intensely sought, it will predictably be found in the person of any incumbent whose actions can be interpreted as beneficient, whether it is because they are demonstrably beneficient or because their consequences are unknowable.[15]

Edelman follows Weber in differentiating between charismatic and bureaucratic leadership, but then shows how "modern" leadership has taken on new characteristics which were not encapsulated in Weber's original ideal-type of bureaucracy.

> It ["modern" leadership] depends on the impossibility of demonstrating success or failure, a disinclination to rock the boat and the disposition of alienated masses to project their psychic needs upon incumbents of high office. Our environment of large organizations, our media for disseminating a barrage of abstract symbols, and our detachment from warm personal relationships provide a culture that is generating a new leadership dynamic. Fundamental to this new dynamic is the general sense of anxiety . . .[16]

Here Edelman's vision of man in modern society for ever trying to cope with great anxieties and grasping for a way out, for security, even for total salvation appears to merge with Barkum's interpretation of disaster and millennium. Societies change drastically; man does not. It can be said then that maybe modern man has not changed very much at all, especially in crisis situations.

Edelman concludes in his study (based on both experimental research on human perception during a crisis situation) that because of the intense degree of anxieties experienced, the people project onto their leader whatever is most pressing on their minds. All the leader needs to do is somehow bring into the open and synthesize what keeps haunting people at the time of crisis and great distress.

Sociologists who approve of the secularization thesis could be expected to disapprove of the appearance of charisma in modern society. However Bellah, Luckman and David Martin who all oppose the assumption of increasing secularization, do not use the persistence of charisma in their argument. Wilson himself believes in increasing secularization. He objects to what he claims is a watered-down, completely "secularized", almost decorative use of the term charisma. He questions whether the uncritical application of the term by modern journalists may not be symptomatic for the increasing search for "re-enactment" in the Weberian sense.

As far as explanatory capacity goes, Wilson feels that in a Gesellschaft setting the concept charisma is useless, even misleading. Consequently, he wants the term to be abolished because it has been vulgarized, not only by journalists, but also by social scientists themselves. Here Wilson comes close to Peter Geyl's ideas how history and concepts derived from certain periods can be abused. Peter Worsley agrees with Wilson that charisma is "too spongy" a concept in order to have any practical sociological application.

Incidentally, by some other critics Weber has been blamed for having introduced a great-man theory of history in his ideal-type. Objections to the ill-famed great-man theory are widely known and efficiently documented. Wilson critiques Weber's critics on this issue:

> To suggest that it is charisma--not science or rational procedures--which really make the wheels go round, is to resuscitate an emphasis on the individual for which Weber's critics took him rather too severely to task.[17]

Wilson concludes to keep Weber's concept but relegates it to pre-literate societies. Obviously Wilson's absolute assumptions about secularization as an ongoing process color his perspective on charisma. However, there are reservations to be made about charismatic leadership in any given society.

c) Examples of Charismatic Leadership in their Original Socio-Cultural Contexts

In the Melanesian area millenarian movements frequently arise without an obvious leader or prophet of exceptional qualities. Ordinary local men may temporarily come to the foreground because people put their personal trust in them. There may be no charismatic appeal whatsoever at play.

Into Worsley's framework of exploited segments of the population, the charismatic dimension fits uneasily. In his explanation, the mutual relationships between leader and followers is not at all the main building block towards group cohesion and social action. So-called charismatic qualities of emerging leaders are in his line of thinking only a marginal factor. He focusses mainly on the content and the quality of the message and how it is directly made relevant to the degree of exploitedness--that is, how deeply the people themselves feel that they are being exploited. (See The Trumpet Shall Sound[18]) Moreover, Worsley is dealing with cargo cults in which the obsessive preoccupation with material goods is obvious, even to the non-Marxian observer. In such a socio-cultural ambiance a self-made man operates on the shared assumption that his status is being measured in terms of visible, economic goods above all: food stuff and their exchange value. Hence the local enterpriser has as his sole priority the acquisition of material possessions to earn himself an impressive reputation. How many economic goods can one individual visibly produce so that his status can be calculated accordingly in the socio-cultural context?

This is also the main theme in Glynn Cochrane's study Big Men and Cargo Cult (Oxford, 1970). Both Worsley and Cochrane explain how accumulation of wealth is the main ongoing concern for Melanesians, and how these economic possessions are crucial in order to participate in any way in the local society. Exchange of goods is the main objective. The better exchange position he is in, the more one's status is enhanced. This type of economic determinism though could not be called identical to a "modern" system of stratification and class consciousness. Yet some of the underlying ideas are rather similar. It is first of all a passionate preoccupation with material goods and social awards to be ascribed to the achiever, the self-made man. Status depends on competition and economic pursuits. But all this does not make Melanesian society western or class-divided.

The concepts of class and oppression and exploitation could be applied to the Melanesian case when defining the domineering position of the colonizing power versus the natives. This Worsley does very convincingly in his analysis. Where Worsley perhaps falls short is in explaining why millenarianism breaks out in some villages and not in others, even though the same socio-economic variables were at work in all the villages.

At times the cargo cult "hysteria" breaks loose because of rumored disruptions by Europeans and/or because of strong paranoid anticipatory preoccupations with potential invasion by Europeans. This presupposes a strong belief in supernatural power among the native people, without always necessarily producing a charismatic leader. The whole collective frenzy of these cargo cult outbursts, so symptomatic for this area, prove the profoundly expressive meaning inherent in all millenarian activities: participants are enabled to relieve their anxieties. From their frantically performed new and old rituals, fervent hopes are being distilled. The most beneficial outcome may be this social-psychological feeling of being redeemed. The perceptions of total group salvation are very strong.

To turn back to the theme of leadership: in many of the Melanesian instances of millenarianism, the leader may not have been a true prophet. Yet the man who proves capable of summoning the millenarian response may fill in the emotional vacuum caused by the general malaise. His message is right for his audience because complete personal trust is at its base. He may do very little and have extremely little to offer, but the manner in which he leads the ceremonial dances and teaches new chants may just be enough to spark the millenarian fervor. He may then convey new and strong hopes, without ever having consciously intended to do so. His message may not be profound nor even specifically relevant from an outsider's perspective. But to the insider the man is extremely appealing and so is whatever message he has. Even though the followers are all in the thrall of the magical pattern of thinking and acting--

> extraordinary social power is not claimed by reference to the divine, perhaps because power differentials between individuals were not sufficiently great to warrant appeal to exceptional sources other than those of conventional sorcery ideas.[19]

Millenarian forms of leadership have to be put in their own socio-cultural context in order to do justice to them. Millenarian movements may not only arise as a response to sudden situations of great distress. Amongst the Indian peoples of Brazil, whole bands of the Tupi-Guarani wander off to the Land of No Evil; over and again these tribal migrations occur and they have been an established pattern since time immemorial, i. e. since before the Portugese colonizers arrived. The repeated search for and the collective march to this visionary land of paradisical dimensions has become a ritual itself.[20] It was a collective re-enactment of a dream shared by a whole group. The prophet may not be the actual but only the symbolic leader. The prophet may actually expose a considerable degree of incompetence, obviously lacking in practical and tactical experience, yet he may become fully accepted because of his charisma, which is a social phenomenon.

A striking case of inept but charismatic leadership was Te Ua Haymeme among the Maoris in New Zealand, the so-called Hau Hau movement. This was a form of opposition against the British in 1862. First a king had been installed in a somewhat constitutional manner, copied from the oppressor. But the whole king concept failed to take roots. Next, in a truly grassroots manner, the Maoris banded together in rebellious efforts by drawing on the biblical idea of a prophet-leader. Incidentally, the Maoris had been familiar with the Bible for quite some time. (Compare Barrett[21] on this phenomenon: the radicalizing impact of the Bible, especially after the translation into the vernacular.) Now they were suddenly ready to appropriate appealing ideas taken from the Old Testament to the social-economic and political predicament they were in themselves.

It became crucial to find the right person at this critical instance to play the biblically inspired prophetic role. The availability of a figure like Ua did not guarantee that he would be the most perfect claimant to the charismatic call. His prophesy that a wreck of a ship would land on the coast of New Zealand was enthusiastically received and fervently believed, because the members of the tribe were ready for the message of salvation, regardless of the clumsy manner in which the message was concocted and delivered. The prophet may have literally stumbled into the position of leadership. To the followers, though, the charismatic situation had reached the fullness of time. Whatever occasion arising was now instantly perceived as the perfect matching one. In the eyes of the believer, mediocrity may be turned into excellence.

> Nobility may be inherent in the charismatic claimant, but often it is only a pale reflection of the nobility that is claimed.[22]

When Europeans suddenly did arrive in the Melanesian area, they were categorized as "Big Men" according to the existing local framework. The only difference was that these "coming and going" European newcomers appeared to possess more power and status than the local Big Men. Conflict broke out when the natives perceived that these so-called superior "Big Men" did not treat the local men as people: the traditional relationship which had always been based on reciprocity was abruptly disrupted. The whole socio-cultural framework was disintegrating, and severe symptoms of status discrepancies became chronic. There was no more room for ordinary men to gain status and exert power, to prove themselves in their own traditional context.

The longer and more intense the contact with the European invader, the more traumatic the impact, but only in areas where the concept and practice of "big men" had been an indigeneous social system before. European administrators came on too strongly, too suddenly and they were perceived as more powerful versions of local "big men". This caused a social upheaval of great magnitude.

> Status and symbols emerge from an interrelation of myths, life crises, and economic and political relations. Not simply the consequences of economic deprivation, not solely the over-enthusiastic response to missionary teaching or particular kinds of administrative action, the events of a cargo movement are seen to correspond with an effort to overcome the dissonances between statusses and the symbols which guarantee their worthwhileness.[23]

Only in cases where the traditional concept of manhood and self-realization could be reconciled more gradually with the new values, no clash occurred. Similarly, wherever the Europeans did treat the natives as if they were men, the existing social framework was not disrupted. (Compare Reinhild Rodriguez.[24])

To focus on specific details taken from extensive fieldwork done in this area: peculiar local circumstances can help explain why some communities of a certain size (about 200 to 300 native inhabitants, and kept to that size by systematic infanticide to make sure that the limited existing resources would suffice) experienced the millenarian phenomenon, whereas others did not. The main factor here was that continuous warfare between the different villages was carried on constantly to prove true manhood. New war leaders had to be chosen, and required qualities of leadership had become almost institutionalized. Local "big men" then used to come and go as warfare casualties. The European "big men" were equally so perceived: administrators would only stay on temporarily. The millenarian movements then were true local community efforts to make the Europeans recognize that the local "big men" had status too. As Cochrane summarizes:

> In the areas where the movements broke out there was no institutionalized political system. Everything depended on the impermanent authority of the "big men". The peculiar nature of this traditional social organization and the peculiar nature of the British Colonial Administration were bedfellows--European contact maintained the "big men" system and its values. In Sir Henry Maine's terms the societies where the movements broke out were distinguished from the societies where the movements did not break out by the fact that they had not moved from status to contract. The maintenance of social order was dependent on status, the status of the "big men". And the "big man" was dependent on his ability to achieve results.
>
> The movements were spontaneous reactions against status deprivation.[25]

It is worthwhile to notice that these movements for recognition were based on static concepts of power and status. They were not innovative in political terms because they stopped at the political boundaries imposed on the various communities by the colonizers' administration. So pre-existing rituals and tradition-bound organized behavior were on people's minds. No new epistemological assumptions about political organization were made. The movements were not after dynamic changes but after guaranteed continuation of the same rituals and after status reconsolidation.

> This traditional knowledge added to deductions made about Europeans accounted for the morphology of the movements.[26]

At the most then, some new rituals were added during the group mobilization process, but no innovative concepts of power were added to the repertoire. The "big men" on the local scene were not prophets in a religious ambiance, so concludes Cochrane, but men who possessed traditionally sanctioned attributes of status and mechanisms of power.

Isolated native communities especially would feel bewildered by the sudden invasion of colonizers. As Ndabaningi Sithole says: "overwhelmed, overawed, puzzled, perplexed, mystified and dazzled."[27]

In the Melanesian area in the late 19th and 20th centuries, the natives felt extremely disadvantaged compared to the obviously superior wealth displayed by the missionaries who showed their typical middle-class Victorian lifestyle. In the eyes of the natives, this was a fabulous way of living. Jealousy was a natural reaction. Moreover, the missionaries started doling out some material goods as a reward for having shown at least outwardly Christian behavior patterns! Since there were only a few converts at first, the rewards were yet impressive. Then, after many collective conversions, the source of rewards became thinner and dried up completely. That turned potential converts against the stingy, greedy mission and its "failing", "false" agents.

Moreover, preaching damnation and hellfire in absolute terms--as especially the Presbyterians did with great emphasis--had an impact far beyond missionary expectations. The doctrine of a God who takes personal revenge on wrong doings worked in a disastrous manner on the minds of the natives. Simplified versions of the biblical content as preached repetitively by foreign missionaries was amplified by the natives into a religion of extreme and violent revenge taking. It became a very appropriate rationale for aggressiveness. The Christian message of the Apocalypse took on ominous forms whereas the Kingdom to come with plenty of food and goods and an abundance of western clothes and tools was now in turn going to be reserved for natives only. The day of reckoning had come already. Epidemics--like new diseases obviously brought in by the foreigners--and other natural disasters like lack of rain or too many storms and floods could be blamed on the foreigners. All disasters were instantly put in a new dramatic context of evil versus good.

The first contact with the Europeans was a terrifying and highly disruptive experience, especially because Christianity was originally a very millenarian religion itself. That's why the early missionaries unintentionally hit deep millenarian chords among the natives, who selectively took the message on their own terms of very intense expectations in the midst of sudden social malaise. An abrupt hysteria takes over, a frantic getting ready for final event by nervous, ritual reenactment of earlier happenings. Also an extreme xenophobia becomes apparent and there is a strong violent desire to get even with these white foreign oppressors.

Justus van der Kroef[28] points out how the sudden switch by the Dutch colonial administration from indirect to direct rule brought on these feelings of resentment among the Javanese.[29] Their culture had at its center a delicate balance to be maintained at all cost between oneself and the cosmos. A monistic concept of the ultimate reality was expressed in a variety of supernatural forces. A sublime condition of metaphysical equilibrium had to be permanent because if upset at all, it would bring misfortune to the whole community of believers. Protest by individuals was only possible as a search for a new harmony with the existing collectivity. Consequently millenarian movements in the Indonesian socio-cultural context are but different forms of the same constant search for societal equilibrium. Van der Kroef epitomizes the social change processes by looking at individuals engaged in millenarian thought and action. He uses functionalist-sounding terms like equilibrium and status-seeking, but not in a functionalist perspective. On the contrary, he focusses on individual actors from a truly historical and conflict perspective.

Adas[30] differentiates several stages in the group reactions: (1) rumors are spreading and omens are reported. (2) Symbols are called upon to legitimate the new movement. (3) Rituals are used to reinforce group solidarity and to invoke supernatural assistance. Oaths are taken and initiation ceremonies performed. (4) The use of talismans is unusually widespread. (5) The observed behavior of the invader is copied and magic is used to outdo his power. (6) Threats and extortion are applied to those who fail to join the movement immediately.

Rumors were not only spreading naturally. They were purposely made up to set the mood for collective agitation. Prophetic leaders would use this kind of technique to enhance the atmosphere of tension and ominous feelings, excessive expectations. Natural disasters were instantly exploited as potent, illustrative material to prove the case of the new prophet. In this procedure old symbols would be elaborated and reinforced. Talismans were used more than ever as a protective device against the threatening technology of the invader. It appeared that all defensive and reassuring resources were drummed up to neutralize the novel forces of the colonizing administrators. Charms and magical incantations were put to use to counteract the "abnormal" powers manifest in the invaders.

There was one over-powering rationale at work in the minds of the threatened native people. From the symbolic framework they were immersed in, they tried to come to terms with the new powers from outside. Incidentally, if certain talismans and tattoos proved to fail, they were discarded and new kinds were invented. All this was done within the existing framework, without transgressing traditional boundaries. A satisfying explanation would be easily found for the failure of certain protective devices. Then some objects or a certain leader would be dropped, but not the whole cultural framework itself. Moreover, a strong capable leader could remain fully trusted because temporary failures and setbacks would not affect the holistic belief system in which his authority was rooted. His persuasiveness and respectability could easily be rescued after some defeat, especially if he had proven himself as a good leader in the ambiance concerned. Here western observers --who were present on the scene of action itself and later interpretations--have failed for a long time to grasp the logic and indigeneous rationale inherent to millenarian movements. As Adas summarizes:

> Like most prescientific peoples, they tended to overlook or explain away failures in the practice of devination, healing or magic. They did not because they lacked the ability to criticize but because their expectations for the failure of magic or prophecies did not involve the scrutiny of nor challenges to the more fundamental assumptions on which magical charms and millenarian visions were based, as it might have been in scientifically oriented societies.[31]

d) The Position and Importance of the Charismatic Leader

> . . . a leader need not achieve power--national or other--in order to qualify as charismatic. What is decisive is whether or not he attracts a charismatic following and shows a marked tendency to become the centre of a charismatic movement . . .[32]

There is no consensus among social scientists whether millenarian movements are a phenomenon of the past or not. The controversy centers on whether millenarianism is typical only in the context of a traditional society. So-called "modern" societies then are supposed to have "advanced" in the process of "secularization". Hence religiously inspired movements are by definition outdated.

Tucker argues that because of the immensely strong appeal of the salvation message embodied in the charismatic leader, millenarianism will always be with us. Furthermore, Tucker's explanation is not a social-psychological reductionist one. Many will agree with Tucker that the human predicament has not undergone a practical metamorphosis, that technological "progress" has not overcome human alienation, that "modern development" has not brought about automatically complete and permanent happiness.

The charismatic leader may simultaneously evoke unconditional followings and strong resistance. Counter charismatic responses are not uncommon. Some charismatic leaders are singularly driven by a novel vision which they manage to convey in an irresistable manner, enchanting a mass of followers. Others, although charismatically inspired, are more pragmatic organizers and social-political activists. Some embody both dimensions and appear on the stage as prophet and activist. All of them--if truly charismatic--have a compelling vision of their own "calling"--to use Weber's original term--an urgent sense of mission, manifested over and again to the faithful masses in despair. The degree of collectively experienced anxieties has prepared the ground for the leader. His claims to supernatural strength fall on ready soil.

> I do not mean to suggest that a charismatic leader acquires charisma exclusively because of his inspirational sense of mission and belief in the movement, or even that his personality per se independently of the content of his message, is sufficient explanation for his impact upon followers. We cannot properly say that of charisma that "the medium is the message" although it is a large part of this.[33]

A recurrent theme in many millenarian movements is the conspiratorial theory underlying the movement. Cohn shows how the Jews were categorically accused of being evil mongers.[34]

There appears to be a correlation between how strong the collective suspicions of conspiracy are, and how fervent and passionate the group identification is with the Messiah-type leader. This paranoia about the alleged conspiracy against "us" intensifies the millenarian aggressiveness towards "them". Next, the millenarian group claims that the conspirers all have to be destroyed, so a forceful rationale is put into motion. The enemy is accused of having brought on its own destruction.

> The leader's personality becomes more salient and magnetic for many because of its identification with the conspiracy doctrine, and the latter, however fantastic it may be becomes more believable because of the leader's paranoid earnestness, the obsessive conviction with which he portrays the conspiracy and inveighs against it.[35]

Just when the grievances have become unbearable and the humiliation intolerable, at the most traumatic point in time, the potential prophet may appear on the scene, perceived as the embodiment of all millenarian expectations. He verbalizes what people are preoccupied with. The prophetic visions vary widely but the predicted coming of the millennium often includes the outright damnation of the cruel rulers and the abolition of all oppressive taxes and outstanding debts. Exploitative tenants and landlords are going to be meted out their overdue punishment.

If racial dimensions are present, then the built up resentment may take on more inflammatory proportions. Prophetic protest leaders give vivid expression to these feelings of great distress.

Cultural, socio-political and economic shock waves caused by the colonizing invader may generate a longing for an idealized past and a dream-like vision of a restored harmony.

> However . . . deprivation and millenarian thought tendencies are not in themselves sufficient to produce sustained social movements. Popular discontent and millenarian tendencies must be amalgamated and articulated either by a prophetic leader or leaders, or by prominent figures in established socio-religious organizations, such as cult-shrine networks and secret societies.[36]

On the other hand, there also have been some prophets without millenarian visions, as discussed by Sundkler and B. Wilson (respectively, in Bantu Prophets and Magic and Millennium, pp. 133 ff.; and Worsley, pp. ix-xx.)

In general, though, for the successful rise of a millenarian movement, a mutually reinforcing relationship between leader and followers is of decisive importance for the group mobilization process. Even in areas that for a long time have shown a propensity for millenarian agitations during crises, this may not guarantee that a full movement will develop. A millenarian tradition combined with sudden socio-economic distress may not be enough for the movement itself to crystallize. Here Adas may have diversified Barkum's main emphasis on disaster and millenarian tradition.

Adas shows specifically how peasants band together under local prophets. During the crystallization process the adherents to the new movement feel that they can retrieve their lost status and identity. They become men again, proudly back on their feet, instantly lifted up from the bottom station, relieved of their inferiority feelings. Their own community cohesion is being restored to its original respectability.

From the perspective of the colonizing power the outcome of some of these movements means decentralization and a direct threat to the metropolis itself. The local communities engaged in their own consciousness-raising may discover their regained and additional power. From then on these movements gain their own momentum. They become from first fully prophetic and truly revolutionary.

T. S. Greene gave a survey of leadership and development patterns of the revolutionary situation in different countries and periods.[37] Adas in a similar manner manages to put leadership patterns of development and sequential stages in millenarian movements in comparative analysis. By including different geographical areas taken from widely varying socio-cultural contexts but all during the same period of western colonization in the 19th and 20th centuries, Adas succeeds in advancing the research on millenarianism. His method is in my opinion the most beneficial at this stage. By relying on various existing models and hypotheses, Adas deepens our insight by comparative analysis of specific aspects of millenarian movements. The theoretical outcome is a refined model. The perspective on millennium and prophetic leadership have been revitalized in a scholarly manner.

A charismatic leader often has already participated in the "advanced" culture and economy which are imposing themselves on the native society. Actually, he may have travelled widely, even worked consistently and for quite some time for the colonial administration or the missionary church, so his horizon has become wider. All this gives him specific skills and above all a different outlook on society and its values. During this somewhat improvised preparatory training for his imminent "calling", he has become familiar with the supraordinate system and its mechanisms. Specifically the values of money and time and the rigor of bureaucratic organization are not novel to him anymore. He is predestined to become the go-between for two cultures and societies. He will be able to select useful elements from the supraordinate structure and translate and transform whatever can be made to fit into the native ambiance.

He is not a compromiser with the colonizer's system--the "metropolis". He realignes himself basically with his own sub-culture, the "hinterland". At the same time, he articulates for his people whatever new assumptions about power and values he deems paramount. In this manner the native culture and structure may gain competitive strength instead of being destroyed because the cultural shock from metropolis was too heavy. He is standing between two worlds, one of which is crumbling. He comes to rescue the traditional community by injecting new elements into the traditional structure.

> He is an outsider, an odd one, extraordinary. Nevertheless, he specifically attempts to initiate both in himself as well as in others, a process of moral regeneration. Both he and his audience are caught between opposed conditions of being. But whereas the prophet has travelled some way along the road towards the synthesis, and in himself represents it, his audience has to be persuaded into taking the same path . . . in standing alone where others habitually rely on kinsfolk or friends or neighbours or allies, a prophet is an individual in himself which points to the humanity in man and also exhibits those qualities of the divine free-mover to which all men at some times in their lives aspire . . . not singular in a way that will make him an outcast, a prophet sees in himself all those to whom he speaks, and they see themselves in him--a communion from which charisma is surely born.[38]

In colonized countries the white authorities get alarmed at the start of a millenarian movement, having no clue about what is going on. They may react with immediate force and severe reprisals. The prophet leader could be arrested and put in jail for an indefinite period. Quite frequently the shaman-leader would die in jail or if released, would return briefly but very successfully to the followers, feverishly waiting for him or her. This return is sensed as proof of supernatural power, of forces imminent in the leader who then has created a movement even stronger than his or her own visionary beginning.

Now the movement thrives on increasing expectations. Wild rumors are spreading beyond the first boundaries. The impact is strongly unifying the people and the dead --or permanently imprisoned--leader appears to generate messianic enthusiasm. The mysterious disappearance or long absence of the leader tends to add to the collective restlessness and a strongly modified but Christian-inspired adventism may be manifest. At this point, the movement may be transforming itself from the expressive into the instrumental stage of action: concrete goals are articulated. Political objectives are crystallizing in the still amorphous group outbursts. After the colonial or missionary authorities start reacting against the movement, the growing movement starts reacting violently back at the whites and especially against the hated collaborators. (See Adas, Prophets of Rebellion, Chapter Five, "Towards Violence: Abortive Repression and the Rise of Secondary Leaders.")

Cohn, Hobsbawn, Lanternari, Adas and anthropological researchers have shown how the leaders are invariably marginal men, some of obscure but definitively mysterious background. In the middle ages they had been priests or monks before in an unsuccessful manner, without being fully integrated into the appropriate class. In Third World countries, these leaders emerge from similarly marginal people who become initiated into western ways of living and thinking by receiving training for military, government or church roles. So ex-corporals, ex-office workers or ex-cathechists now switch roles and take on the new "calling" of prophet-leader. These new intellectuals tend to drop out of the colonial establishment, after disillusionment and alienation have set in. Then they go back to their own people among whom they assume the role of instantly respected leader with great expertise, precisely in fields where the local people had been feeling deeply confused and disoriented. The new prophet is able to articulate new assumptions and categories. But whatever he comes up with must be based on emotions and aspirations immanent in the community he is addressing. He is only externalising what is already on people's minds.

Burridge singles out as crucial the impact of the money economy and the bureaucratic colonial administration on the people, especially their own leaders. Adas emphasizes similar aspects of modernization, especially manifest in the emerging leaders who, because of their brief participation in the novel system, are now seen as experts in the eyes of the villagers. There are obvious advantages: capacity to deal with the foreigners, an impressive degree of literacy, familiarity with the new technology and administration. These give the local leader enormous status on top of all the supernatural qualities that are immediately ascribed to him.

Frequently though, the early rise of some of these leaders is not impressive. They may have had a good start in magical curing; they acquire quite a reputation until they suffer some failures, at times ending up in jail for obvious wrong-doings. This appears similar to what Hobsbawn is describing in Social Bandits: erstwhile law-breakers become at a later stage of the game initiators of a new social order and they gain enormous legitimation during the process of group mobilization. Failures --physical break-downs, wrong-doings--instead of breaking the career, seem to set the stage for the beginning of a new, more impressive career. The leaders first turn into martyrs and then into prophets for sure. As Sundkler shows in Bantu Prophets and Zulu Zionism, the early crystallization period of the potential leader is marked by personality break-downs, emotional upheavals and total derailment, followed by a period of retreat with visions and dreams. After these intensive sessions, the erstwhile weak leader returns from his complete isolation and emerges now as a strong leader with supernatural qualities.

It can be concluded that the prophets play a pivotal role; that their careers deserve more comparative analysis. On the one end of the continuum are prophets whose background is upper-middle-class, but their previous positions of authority and expertise had been threatened by the colonial administration. Adas worked this out systematically for his cases under study: for example, Dipanagara and Kinjiktile abruptly suffered status inconsistency and ensuing disorientations because of lost positions. Their socio-cultural context though was yet pretty much intact since the foreign impact was only recent.[39] Naturally, they had to emerge as champions of the social order under attack.

The other prophets analysed by Adas--and almost all of the ones in Worsley's study--were of lowly background; they had not been in any position of power or status in precolonial times. For them also, rather suddenly all avenues of advancement were blocked off. However, they had an advantage; because of a variety and intensity of experiences and some direct involvement with the new system, they could operate as cultural brokers. They were literally doing a job of "mixing and matching" elements from two conflicting cultural frameworks by applying various techniques, borrowing from the new world, yet using reinforced ideas from the old world.

Prophets who had been themselves fully embedded in indigeneous leadership, could draw more heavily on the traditional bonds and styles. Prophets who had to manage affairs on a cultural broker basis were bound to be far more creative. Moreover, their task was more risky; they had to earn their own legitimation.

Interestingly enough here too, the religious factor often proved to be a revolutionary one too. Many of these prophet leaders had received religious instruction and practical leadership or teacher training from the mission school in a typically colonial context. Others, as in the case of Indonesia--long before the Dutch invasion--had been initiated into mystical aspects of Muslim religion and magic healing cults. Their educational background was exceptional compared to the followers in the village. Moreover, travelling and working experiences had naturally widened their outlooks and restructured their identities. This exactly made them stand out as leaders. As Adas summarizes:

> Prophetic leaders of lowly background . . . gained an aura of achievement from participation in the educational--religious or political--military institutions of the European colonizers that was vital to their success.[40]

To summarize: the word charisma may have turned into a palimpsest by now. New meanings have been written over the old ones to the point of becoming meaningless. The original strength of the concept has been watered down in every-day language to some kind of personal magnetism, some attractive attributes as a speaker, techniques to persuade an audience and get people lined up behind an issue. Weber had a much more profound interpretation in mind when he introduced the term into his construct of ideal-typical charismatic leadership. He intended to give it a timeless quality while at the same time implying that it is of varying intensity in different historical periods.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Robert Tucker, "The Theory of Charismatic Leadership," Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership, ed. D. A. Rustow (New York: 1970), pp. 69-70.

[2] Ibid., p. 72.

[3] Ibid., pp. 72-75.

[4] Johan Huizinga, In the Shadow of Tomorrow. A Diagnosis of the Spiritual Distemper of Our Time (London: 1936), p. 124.

[5] Bryan Wilson, Magic and Millennium (New York: 1973), p. 98.

[6] Bryan Wilson, The Noble Savages: The Primitive Origins of Charismatic Leadership and its Contemporary Survival (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 98.

[7] Compare Robin Horton, "African Traditional Thought and Western Science," Africa, 37, 1 and 2 (January and April, 1967), pp. 56-71 and 155-187.

[8] Wilson, Noble Savages, p. x, xi.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., p. 2.

[11] Ibid.

[12] M. Edelman, Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1970).

[13] Ibid., p. 73.

[14] Ibid., p. 76.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., p. 77.

[17] Wilson, Noble Savages, p. 12.

[18] Peter Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of Cargo Cults in Melanesia (New York: Schocken Books, 1968).

[19] Wilson discussing Worsley in Noble Savages, p. 16.

[20] See Alfred Mêtraux, "The Tupinamba and the Guarani," in Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward, Vol. III (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institute of American Ethnography Bulletin, 1948), pp. 69-94 and 95-133; Journal de la Sociêté des Americanistes, NS, XIX, (Paris: 1927), pp. 1-45; W. H. Lindig, "Wanderungen der Tupi-Guarani" and "Eschatologie der Apapocuva, Guarani," Chiliasmus and Nativismus, ed. W. E. Muehlmann, (Berlin: Reimer, 1961).

[21] David Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa (Oxford University Press, 1968).

[22] Wilson, Noble Savages, p. 11.

[23] Cochrane, Big Men and Cargo Cult, Foreward by Burridge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. ix.

[24] Compare Reinhild Rodriguez, Unabhaengige religioses Bewegungen in Kenia (Freiburg: 1975), pp. 71-75 and p. 82.

[25] Cochrane, op. cit., p. 163.

[26] Ibid., 164.

[27] Ndabaningi Sithole, African Nationalism (New York: 1969).

[28] Justus van der Kroef, "Messianic Movements in the Celebes, Sumatra, Borneo," Millenial Dreams in Action, ed. Sylvia Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 80-121.

[29] A. C. Kruyt and N. Adriani show how exactly extended indirect rule in the long run will also bring about millenarian outbursts. (De Godsdienstige Politieke Beweging "Mejapi" op Celebes, pp. 144-145.)

[30] Michael Adas, Prophets of Rebellion, Millenarian Protest Movements Against the European Colonial Order, Chapter VI "Mobilization: Symbol and Ritual, Talisman and Sympathetic Magic," (Chapel Hill: The University of Carolina Press, 1979).

[31] Ibid., p. 155.

[32] Tucker, op. cit., p. 78.

[33] Ibid., pp. 88-89.

[34] Franz Newman identifies five variations on the millenarian conspiracy: The Jesuits, The Freemasons, The Communists, The Capitalists, and the Jewish, in Belemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism (London: 1942).

[35] Tucker, op. cit., p. 90.

[36] Adas, op. cit., p. 93.

[37] Thomas H. Greene, Comparative Revolutionary Movements (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1974).

[38] K. Burridge, New Heaven, New Earth. A Study of Millenarian Activities (Toronto: 1969), p. 162.

[39] Adas, op. cit., pp. 92-122.

[40] Ibid., p. 120.

CHAPTER IV

THE BLACK MUSLIMS:

AN APOCALYPTIC VISION OF RACIAL RELATIONS

a) Introduction to the Apocalyptic Vision

The story of the rise of the Black Muslims has been told rather well by Eric Lincoln and Essien-Udom in their classic studies of the movement. This fourth chapter intends to discuss briefly how these two studies are complementary and how they form a necessary starting point for any analysis in this area.[1]

To encapsule what has been said in the preceding chapters my aim here is to focus on the Black Muslims from the perspectives of social change and religion as a dynamic and revolutionary factor. As will be shown shortly, Lincoln and Essien-Udom in both their profound analyses, did not at all focus on the Black Nation of the Islam as a millenarian movement. As a matter of fact, neither of them ever used the concept of millenialism while defining the movement, although symptoms of "messianic and charismatic" leadership were hinted at by Essien-Udom. In a more recent article, Lincoln uses the term millennium when describing the historical development of the White power structure, not when analysing the Black mythology.[2]

The myth--instinctively created at first, then almost deliberately and most effectively introduced to the oppressed masses in the ghettoes--was a most powerful one. It made the disoriented Blacks instantly spellbound. The extraordinary story of where, when and how the Black people originated worked as a miraculous catalyst. Totally alienated unemployables became fervent joiners and hard workers overnight. Where teachers, counsellors, social workers and parole officers had failed, and where police and criminal justice already had written off skid-road individuals, suddenly the Black Muslim prophet-leaders managed to convey the message of individual transformation and group change. What was it in their monitoring messages and improvised "group dynamics" that clicked so faultlessly with potential followers?

The myth of the mysterious Moorish-African or Black Jewish or Arabic-African origin was called by the White outsiders and observers "weird", "alarming", "irrational", "naive", "nonsensical", a typical example of a "pie-in-the-sky" for the uneducated. The apocalyptic overtones of the mythological success story of the Black Man, despised, uprooted and exploited by the White devils, yet predestined by divine plan to take his revenge in an imminent come-back--frightened and annoyed the White Establishment. The myth was ridiculed or ignored. It was never put in comparative perspective with the myth on which American White nationalism itself was based, with its Dream of Equality and accumulative Progress.

While briefly discussing the major contributors to our understanding of the Black Muslims--mainly Lincoln and Essien-Udom, and to some degree Draper--this chapter attempts to emphasize the apocalyptic dimensions of the Lost and Found Black Nation of Islam. "Apocalyptic" is often taken in its narrow "static" meaning of: an extremely strong warning of God's imminent intervention. Franklin L. Baumer suggests:

> The word "apocalypse" means literally an unveiling or disclosure of the future. But among the Jews and early Christians it also denoted a profound pessimism about the world and man. In the Relevation of John, that classic of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic, the "new Jerusalem" is established only at the end of time, and by God's intervention, not human works. It is preceded, moreover, by the most frightful and hair-raising events, by the ride of four horsemen, by plagues and wars and all manner of natural calamities.[3]

Somewhat unfortunately, Baumer takes Mannheim's version of "apocalypse", the millenarian dream throughout human history, in a too narrow, static interpretation. He sees it as an announcement of evil forces winning over good forces with time running out. The carriers of such messages of doom and damnation tend to become passive compliers with the sequence of events as preordained by God or whatever other supernatural power.

> "Apocalyptic" signifies a mood utterly at variance with what Karl Mannheim calls the "Utopian mentality"; a state of mind which takes a dim view of "time" or rather of what man can accomplish in "time"; which accepts suffering, conflict, death as permanent data of temporal life; which perceives that demonic forces are gaining in strength and threatening to overwhelm civilization--in a word "crisis thinking".[4]

Baumer points at the variety of meanings the word can assume in contemporary critical thinking about the future. (Compare his elaborate study of what he terms "crisis thinking" in our age. Main Currents of Western Thought, New York, 1952, where other modern prophets of doom and despair are analysed like Johan Huizinga's The Shadow of Tomorrow: A Diagnosis of the Spiritual Distemper of Our Time, London, 1936; and Arthur Koestler's The Age of Longing, New York, 1951.[5])

Only rarely do present interpretations of the Apocalypse match the original Doomsday announcement as prophesized by St. John on Patmos in the Aegean Sea (a location to return in the Black myth) in the early days of Christianity, when Christianity was still a truly millenarian movement and not a fully developed church of institutionalized religion. (Compare Troeltsch's ideal-types.) Some theologians or sectarians stick to the letter of St. John's revelations: that the end of the world is at hand, and that it will be preceded--or temporarily held back--by an intensified final conflict between

God and the Antichrist. Recognizable signs and events will foreshadow the speeding up of this final cataclysm. After this, a brand new heaven and aearth will be established.

Most often, the apocalyptic admonitions--either religious or secular--are used to scare the sinner our of his wicked wits--to bring him back to the path of righteousness by warning humankind of the degeneration and imminent downfall of civilization in general.

Apocalypse then may be used in two manners: from a pessimistic prophetic perspective or from an optimistic view. To return to sociology and its practitioners: Comte and Condorcet obviously took Apocalypse in the sense of an Apotheose: a perfect end stage of human development. This colored their perspective on social change as progress. The functionalist school unfortunately was side-tracked by the same optimistic apotheose in its conceptualization of ethnic relations in the United States, expected to evolve into an end-stage of full assimilation. Parsons' impressive model of pattern variables implies progressively improved societal relations, an end-state of equilibrium as accumulative Progress. Consequently the sudden outpouring of doom and damnation by the Black countermovement onto the White Establishment was not immediately absorbed by social scientists. This may explain the lack of interest --or moral courage--to tackle the phenomenon of Black Separatism as a conflict issue in American society.

The apocalyptic visions of doom and damnation for Whites only, as prophesized persistently by Noble Drew Ali, Wallace D. Fard, Elijah Muhammad Poole and Malcolm X, raised havoc amongst the Whites. Their clear and repeated prediction that the White people's time had run out and that the Black man's turn was now imminent was not a popular message. Because of these heavily loaded apocalyptic overtones, the Black Muslim movement was quickly misinterpreted as an illusive obscure sectarian group whose fantastic projections were remote from socio-political reality. This could lead into a critical discussion: is the Black Nation of Islam a sect or social-political movement? Did it end up in pure escapism? Did it, because of the deeply religious ideology it had created, produce its own opium?

One of the main tenets of this thesis has been to show that millenarianism and its dramatizing apocalyptic vision of society is a potential revolutionary force. Its lopsided perspective of the predicament the oppressed group is in, may generate powerful social-political energy. It can unlock its own social dynamics during the revolutionary process of reworking the group's own past and creating its own future. It can transcend the present malaise by getting ready for concrete social and political action. Yonina Talmon's outstanding theoretical contribution to the interpretation of millenarian movements and their social dynamics emphasized the dramatic tensions generated by these apocalyptic visions.[6] Time is transformed by the prophet-leader and his spellbound followers onto a mythological plane connecting a resurrected past to an imminent future. This became a factor itself to bring about and speed up social change. These group efforts may take on revolutionary proportions.

b) Are the Black Muslims a Religious or Political Movement?

Essien-Udom claims that the movement is predominantly a-political and that definitive distrust of any form of political action is manifest. The vaguely political concepts used are utopian and impractical. It is the esoteric philosophy that gives coherence to Muhammad's ideas and organization. The fantastic religious framework built up by W. D. Fard, i. e. Allah incarnated and his messenger Muhammad is at the most, the cement that holds the movement together. In a conclusive chapter "Black Zionism" (compare Sundkler's second study on South Africa, Zulu Zionism). Essien-Udom evaluates the Black Muslim ideology as a way out of present misery, as both utopian and pacifistic, restraining from concrete political and social action and projecting towards an idealized but unrealistic future. He sees as symptomatic for all Black Muslim behavior this constant withdrawal from action, purposeful escapism, not getting ready for any form of revolutionary action, but sitting back and waiting with deeply religious fervor--until Allah himself will interfer and initiate the Black Kingdom of Righteousness. Passive waiting and praying for the Messiah and endless delaying of prophesies by modifying dates and details of prediction are typical for the whole movement. (Compare When Prophesy Fails, L. Festinger et al., Harper Torch Books, New York, 1956.)

What to Essien-Udom is the underlying aim of the movement is a desperate search for acceptance into the American society: for respect, status and good life, here and now. Out of the long-term despair amongst the Blacks grew this fervent belief that the present wicked White power structure will be overthrown by Allah, by direct and imminent interference. So all the followers have to do is wait faithfully but attentively for the obvious signs of the final coming of the end--a comet, a rising star or a war. In his version, the Black Muslims are pawns in their own transcendental power game, created by their own fervent expectations. It is Allah who will decide when the final battle is going to start. He had predetermined that He and his followers will be the winners. The eternal and righteous state will be implemented in a completely transformed world, according to a divine plan revealed solely and mysteriously to the prophet Elijah Muhammad and his true followers. The Apocalypse works in a reassuring, almost pacifying manner. In the meantime, daily life takes on a new meaning.

Here Essien-Udom does not seem to capitalize on the millenarian dimension--in my view so obvious--in the whole Black Muslim eschatology. His analysis is based on and at the same time constrained by a rather dichotomous supposition: that any given ideology must contain by nature esoteric and exoteric elements. The underlying theme throughout his study is that the esoteric components are to be pictured as a set of strange, irrational but very appealing religious and philosophical doctrines about the role to be played by the Black man, after his present suffering and oppression has been undone and the evil White power system is dismantled in the ultimate Armageddon. Essien-Udom depicts the elaborate new myth about the Black man's glorious past, his superior descent, his present exile and misery, and his imminent salvation as an interesting but "esoteric" belief.

He analyzes clearly how the Blacks in the North American ghettoes are in an ambiguous bind: they reject their own sub-culture which was forced upon them by their oppressor and which may contain some remnants of their original heritage. These remnants of authentic Black culture are derogatorily termed "Negro folk culture". They refer to their authentic musical style, ethnic food, language, maybe some burial rites, and above all, mother-centered family-life--which in White American middle-class circles translates into "broken families".

On the other hand, the Blacks, nominally called Americans, never gained full American citizenship. They were never truly admitted, although they really want to be. The good White middle-class life was never equally extended to the Black masses. The few Black individuals who did make it into that envied class, supposedly did so solely on their own initiative and perseverance. Moreover, these Black bourgeoisie members try intensively to undo their Black past, to get rid of the remnants of their embarrassing Black subculture, by separating themselves as much as possible from their ethnic background, without ever becoming fully assimilated into the White class of their dreams, choice and aspirations. This ambiguous dilemma remains at the base of the Black man's search for identity. (See E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie.

The Rise of the New Middle Class in the United States, New York: Collier, 1962. Chapter IX, "Society: Status Without Substance", and Chapter X, "Behind the Masks".)

> To this we should add this profound limitation on the Muslim movement: the fact that Negroes are culturally trapped in the American mainstream in spite of how inadequately they have been assimilated into it. They share all the normal desires and aspirations of Americans, especially material and social approbations through conformity.[7]

In my view, this search for identity by the Blacks is generated by a most complex form of alienation. Seeman[8] differentiated between various dimensions of alienation: of oneself, of society, normlessness, hopelessness and powerlessness. To the Black situation, all these dimensions are applicable, yet may not encompass all aspects of the compounded malaise. Rootlessness both in the sense of lack of physical territory, and lack of a glorious past one can identify with could be added to the phenomenon of Black alienation. This leads to a discussion of Black Nationalism.

Elijah Muhammad broke through this dilemma of compounded alienation and led his people in their search for a place to belong and a past to identify with by creating a new myth, which proved to be deeply satisfying to the believers and by injecting a sudden meaning into the malaise of their daily lives. This was accomplished by revitalizing old elements already present in the Negro heritage. This aspect was more convincingly brought out by Lincoln, especially in his recent article and in the study he edited which is a collection of writings on The Black Experience in Religion.[9]

Most interpretations will agree that the Blacks feel deeply alienated from the White power structure. That they identify on the emotional level with the Moslems in Africa and Asia by sharing the same religion, or at least what they believe to be the same religion is not often consistently brought out, except by some Blacks themselves. They view Africa and/or Asia as their homeland. In all projections about a glorified Black past, the African continent looms large. However, for a long time, especially during 19th century western imperialism, Africa and its inhabitants were held low in esteem by White western people. Consequently it was with increasing ambiguity that Blacks themselves felt they had to look at what was considered to be their homeland and its "savage" inhabitants.

Gradually the focus of religious and ethnic identification shifted from Sub-Saharan Africa to the northern parts. Egypt, Ethiopia and Morocco appeared more respectable because they could be shown to have been cradles of civilization at some time in history. This search for religious and cultural identity ended up mainly in the Middle East, some times Israel, but most of the time Mecca. Some Black sects claimed that their forefathers and culture originated there. These favorite parts on the Black mythological world map were--besides Egypt, Morocco and Ethiopia--all of the Middle East, especially what was termed in ancient history, Mesopotamia. From an outsider's point of view, all this may seem a rather romanticising projection, a sheer dream. From the perspective of a true believer it becomes a deeply satisfying explanation for a miserable present. An attractive but lost past will be resurrected soon in glorious redemptive future.

The so-called "redemption of Africa" was a phrase used throughout the 19th century amongst Afro-Americans who were supportive of not only the missionary movement but above all of Black Nationalism. Burkett has shown in his study of Garveyism that these persistent hopes were based on a definitive prophecy taken from the Bible, namely from Psalm 68: 31. "Princes shall come out of Egypt and Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hand unto God." This prophesy was taken literally and lo, when the Italians were badly defeated by the Ethiopians in the well-known battle of Adowa in 1896, this victory was immediately hailed as the fulfilment of the prophesy itself. Marcus Garvey himself became one of the strongest believers that all of Africa would be redeemed for the Black people as soon as the White people were punished for all their evil doings. So Garveyism as a movement could find a strong responsive chord within the Black ghettoes exactly because its ideology and eschatology were built on these same Afro-American religious traditions. (Compare pp. xix-xx in St. Clair Drake's Foreword to Burkett's study, Garveyism as a Religious Movement. The Institutionalization of a Black Civil Religion, Scarecrow Press, London, 1978.)

> When Malcolm X became the alter ego of the ghetto youth and pointed out that his father had been a Universal Negro Improvement Association organizer as well as a Baptist preacher, the circle of Garvey admirers widened and the desire for more knowledge about him increased. . . . The young Black militants were impressed by the fact that one of their contemporary heroes, Kwame Nkrumah, first prime minister in de-colonized Black Africa, wrote in his autobiography that Garvey had been his inspiration. And they did not fail to notice that he named Ghana's shipping company The Black Star Line after the Universal Negro Improvement Association's ambitious but disastrous venture. The facts surrounding Garvey's arrest and deportation became for them, a stick with which to beat what they defined as "house niggers". Garvey had prophesized that he'd return "in the whirlwind". The young new believers saw his spirit abroad in the northern ghetto rebellions that set fire to the cities. By this time their elders were rediscovering Garvey too, and some of them later discerned his spirit in the program of government-subsidized Black Capitalism.[10]

However, as St. Clair Drake warns, even though these groups eagerly identified with Garveyism, as they perceived it, Garvey himself most likely would not have agreed with their versions of his ideas. The apocalyptic view of social reality means different things to different people at various times in history.

Essien-Udom's explanation stops short at differentiating between what is "esoteric" and "exoteric" in the Black Muslim mythology. He gives credit to "esoteric" philosophy pervasive in the whole Black Muslim ideology and eschatology, but he defines these elements as functionally beneficial by giving coherence to the movement and its novel belief system. He only hints at some aspects of messianic leadership and its impact on the individual Black Muslims. He does not consistently compare this phenomenon of mass mobilization around a prophet leader to related millenarian movements, either here or in other periods in history. As a matter of fact, he rejects outright the idea that Black Muslims are comparable to such movements manifest presently in the Third World.

Yet Essien-Udom's analysis is excellent when he shows convincingly which segments of the ghetto population join, why they get deeply and fanatically engaged in the movement, and how ready they are for a prophet-styled leader. He also brings out extremely well to what degree the movement and its dynamic ideology transform the new joiners into profoundly motivated and truly "reborn" individuals who then totally identify with the cause and the leader. His study contains ground-breaking chapters on the Black Nation's rise and growth in which he terms the whole process of individual conversion and group reinforcement "The Way Out". The critical analysis of recruitment and initiation procedures is thorough. It goes somewhat beyond Lincoln's comparable but more strictly descriptive parts on the Black Muslims as a movement. In many ways, Lincoln relies rather heavily on Eric Hoffer's innovative but lopsided short study of social movements and bases his explanation of the social dynamics of the movement almost verbatim on Hoffer's model.

However, Lincoln has a far more insightful concept of religion as a pervasive force, enabling individuals and groups to cope with change, even to initiate and steer it along. Lincoln's model of religion--pivotal for group identification and crucial as a motivating force--comes close to what Hans Mol suggests in his recent theoretical construct of religion: a niche necessary and vital to any group, any segment, tribe or nation that needs a base to stand on, from which to project, to objectify and to act in a meaningful manner. In short: here is a prerequisite for any viable symbolic framework.

The drawback of both studies is that the research and writing was done while the movement was still in full process of becoming, respectively Essien-Udom in 1960 and Lincoln in 1961. Many reprints of both studies followed, especially of Lincoln's study, but all these did not add much new to the first interpretations given. Originally Lincoln coined the name "Black Muslims" with whom he actually had and still has a very good working relationship. "The Lost Nation of Islam" itself never objected to this alternative name. Essien-Udom left this specific field of research altogether and returned to his homeland of Nigeria--after having spent two years of intensive direct daily contacts with Black Muslims for research purposes. Lincoln, on the other hand, stayed in this field and has added to his first analysis in a recent article: *The American Muslim Mission in the Context of American Social History*. (Mimeographed lecture given at a Symposium: Dimensions of Islam in North A America, May, 1980, at the University of Alberta, Department of Religious Studies.) Here Lincoln draws an historically and sociologically broader picture of American society, its institutionalized racism with its all-pervasive Christian and democratic creed of equality, and its persistent practice of unequality.

Both Essien-Udom and Lincoln[11] discussed in some detail the impact of earlier religious sects like the

Moorish Temple under its leader Noble Drew Ali, the Marcus Garvey movement--both mushrooming right after World War I --and a variety of earlier Black nationalistic projections, which all failed in terms of measurable and visible achievement but which did add enormously to the social dynamics of the Blacks as a societal group, gaining consciousness of their own identity, reviving their lost past and building up an innovative and reassuring myth leading them into a glorious future. In his later article, Lincoln abbreviates the analysis of the earlier stirrings, sects, schisms and movements amongst the Blacks. He adds to the intensity of his explanation of religion as a deeply motivating force, as a powerful social dynamics, as a necessary process of group identification. While he discusses in brief the importance of the forerunners of Elijah Muhammad, especially Noble Drew Ali and Wallace D. Fard, he shows how these obscure prophets in the making managed to create a most appealing religious ideology based on old and new traditions and vague religious ideas, almost picked at random, yet blended instinctively in a manner that made just the right sense to the potential believers.

Elijah Muhammad saw his calling first of all as one of great moral reform, to build up the Black spirit by leading the followers out of the long-term impasse of degeneration and humiliation. The dynamics of his "moral rearmament" were provided by the apocalyptic manner in which he perceived himself: namely as the leader of the fierce battle on behalf of all Black men against the tyranny and hypocrisy of all White Caucasian devils. Elijah depicted himself as the personification of this incessant struggle between Good and Evil, Black and White, God versus Devil. At the same time he claimed to be the reincarnation of W. D. Fard--the mysterious and obscure prophet-preacher who had come before him. He also claimed to be Allah's direct messenger. So Muhammad directly participated in divine power and supernatural interference in human affairs.

Both Essien-Udom and Lincoln argue at length how the Black Muslims as a movement are not revolutionary but pacifist, avoiding aggression and violence and only advocating self-defence in case of attack from outsiders. Yet the movement generated great alarm and deep consternation amongst the White establishment which blamed Muhammad's aggressive speaches for causing violence and generating revolt.

Essien-Udom suggests that Muhammad's speeches and admonitions may sound aggressive in their use of language and imagery, but that basically the content of the message is non-revolutionary by calling for restraint and self-defence at the most. Essien-Udom did his research on the Black Muslims in the late 1950's and he focussed mostly on Elijah Muhammad and his reign; so did Lincoln in his book.

In his recent article, Lincoln has more to say about Malcolm X and how he continuously revised his philosophy and adjusted his leadership techniques. The movement of course in the meantime had survived its first and second leadership crisis: respectively Fard's mysterious disappearance and Muhammad's self-styled smooth succession (1933-34) being the first routinization of charismatic leadership and Malcolm's rise to power being the second time of routinization. It was Malcolm's reign that initiated a period of moderating readjustment and more diplomatic accommodation to the existing White power structure without giving up the sectarian ideology completely. He softened the harsh racial images and symbols introduced by Muhammad and became the Black Nation's travelling speaker to whom the White establishment was at least willing to listen carefully, with suspicion but also with intense interest. One could say: Malcolm managed to make the sect into a movement with still some of the sectarian themes left in the movement's ideology, deliberately applied to keep the fighting spirit alive.

> Malcolm began his Muslim career accepting the Muslim's concept of complete territorial separation.

> careful reading of his last speeches and public statements suggest that he eventually rejected complete black territorial separatism as undesirable and unattainable, but he nevertheless continued to espouse other forms of black nationalism. He still believed that the black muslim program--minus territorial separation--was best for black American liberation. He believed that white people per se were not inherently evil, but rather that the American political, economic and social systems made white Americans racist and evil. While visiting the Middle East and Africa, he was amazed that peoples of all colors lived under Islam peacefully together with color mattering not at all.[12]

When viewing the whole movement from early rise under Elijah Muhammad to full development under Malcolm X, it seems that increasing tolerance and accommodation are typical for any sect--religious or secular. Such a sequence was the most natural way to follow for Malcolm X when he took over and consolidated the organization. Yet he too allowed room for aggressiveness by leaving outlets for blowing off steam. Instinctively Muhammad had managed to provide the new believers with controlled and focussed channels to ventilate their built-up frustrations and deep-seated hatred. Developing this new community of fervent believers and totally committed followers, Malcolm X tolerated collectively shared hatred without calling for a racial war. (Freire claims that the Brasilian farmers during the process of group consciousness-raising transcended their hatred against the oppressors. In contrast to the picture drawn in this study, The Pedagogy of the Oppressed, he modifies this version somewhat in a later[13] article where he does allow for group resentment.)

c) The Black Myth

Six millennia ago, a mischievous Black scientist by the name of Yakub whose whereabouts were close to Mecca, started experimenting in order to produce a new but inferior human race. His plan was a devilish one, namely to create first a brown race, then a yellow or red one, and then last but least, the present white race, starting with a first man called Adam. These experiments were held during a long period of exile on Patmos in the Aegean Sea by Yakub and his scientific assistants. They applied the most advanced techniques available, developed by Black scientists only, long before the presence of any white man. They succeeded in producing white Caucasian devils who proved to be the ugliest race in history. As soon as these white devils were let loose, they started causing a civil war amongst the originally perfect and harmonious Black Nation. Its King was then approached by his desperate advisors to stop these white monsters in their evil manipulations and war mongering. Of course, the King banished all white devils to a different continent, called Europe, where they lived as savage cavemen for more than two millennia, crawling on their hands and feet and keeping company with dogs--as they still do up to this day and age.

Then the prophet Moses was sent to civilize these white devils, about four millennia ago, but he was unsuccessful. Next the prophet Jesus was sent out, about two millennia ago in order to convert the Jews to the religion of Islam. After many years of intensive prosetelysing, Jesus also failed, and he was killed by the ones he had tried to convert.

In the year 1914, the evil reign of the white Caucasians was going to be terminated and the beginning of the First World War was of course at the same time the beginning of the end for all white men. America and Germany were the two worst enemies of civilization. The down-fall of America would be identical to the fall of earlier Babylon: a total catastrophe for all the white Caucasians who had participated in that evil reign.

The so-called Negroes are in fact the true descendants of the Asiatic Nation originating from the continent of Africa. They descend from the Shabazz tribe who were living in the best and most paradisical parts of the world, the fertile Nile valley and Mesopotamia, specifically in Mecca.

About five millennia ago a dissatisfied Black scientist of this same tribe wanted to make his own people tougher and stronger but he failed badly and the proud tribesmen ended up with their kinky hair. Moreover, they became lost for 400 years and were thrown into white slavery in a far away country where they did not belong originally. However, there is hope again for the lost tribe because within all of the Black Nation, these members lost in slavery on the North American continent will be the few chosen people, i. e. the Black Nation of Islam. They are predestined to lead all Black people out of the white men's destruction. As a matter of fact, these 400 years of slavery are nearing their end in the year 1955. Then Heaven will start right here and now on earth, in the U. S. A., and there will be forever excellent food, beautiful royal clothing and peace for all Blacks.[14]

For a long time, western European history has been biased in its interpretation of its own past, in that it was seen as the true beginning of all civilization. Other non-European continents--or at least non-Western parts of the world--had as yet to be "civilized" and upgraded to the European model. Of course the so-called "New World", the United States was more or less included in this scheme of Western "developed nations". Some historians tried to reorient their teaching and writing so as to take in the whole of world history in a real sense, not the older "World history" that was actually the history of Europe with occasional mention of the peripheral regions. (Philip D. Curtin, Foreword, pp. xi-xii, Prophets of Rebellion by Adas, University of Carolina Press, 1979.)

Up to now, a one-sided interpretation of Weber's Protestant Ethic thesis--as an ideal-typical form of development initiated and successfully completed by predominantly western Whites . . . --has hampered a fair evaluation of different societies, their authentic sociocultural context and their own achievements outside the European atmosphere. Western social scientists at times turned into prophets proselytizing for world-wide acceptance of a secularized version of the same Protestant Ethic, by trying to convert the "not yet developed areas" outside the "developed" Western world into their millennium of stern capitalism. A severely distorted view of social change and development according to the ideal-typical condensed version of Western history became a myth in itself, and contributed to the rise of the Black Afro-Asian counter-myth. Black nationalism coincided with the cultural renaissance in Harlem in the 1920's.

It culminated in the White man's ideology in reverse. All near-eastern people of ancient and biblical times were now considered Black and superior.

d) The African Heritage in Historical Perspective

To measure the remaining impact on the African heritage of the Negro culture has been an ambiguous problem (see Herskovits[15]). George Rawick applies an innovative approach by focussing on small slave communities and ongoing group processes manifest among the slaves, and proven to exist because of the daily struggle for survival for so many generations of plantation life. The title of his study, From Sundown to Sunup[16] is most meaningful. He follows it up by plotting the continuous slave group processes during the daily hard labor and especially during the short off-duty hours when there was some time for togetherness and interaction. The strength of his argument is the holistic approach towards the Negro communities and their own socio-cultural dynamics. Rawick breaks away from the traditional patchwork methods of focussing on some remnant features passed on by the African heritage. He views culture, social bonds and physical survival as one dynamic ongoing process of human interaction.

> Afro-American societies are not bundles of African traits but the products of the interactions of people whose ancestors had come from West Africa and who, used West African forms in order to create new behaviors that enabled them to survive in the New World . . . If the ability of people to survive requires creative change adequate to the task at hand, then there is no more creative and innovative people in the New World than Black Americans.[17]

> In the Afro-American communities blacks were able to find a mooring which allowed them to survive as men and women. They created for others from sunup to sundown, on Sundays and holidays and at times on Saturday afternoon, and at other times that they managed to get away from work (and frequently at work as well), they created and recreated themselves.[18]

> While religion certainly may at times be an opiate, the religion of the oppressed usually gives them the sustenance necessary for developing survival a resistance to their own oppression.[19]

> It was . . . clearly out of this West African set of practices that the slave's own religion --the one they practised on weekdays and in the evenings, in the holes on the fields, in the cabins protected by the iron pot, at the crossroads where a little man appeared before the sinner and announced salvation--came.[20]

The Christian religion was withheld from the slaves simply and blatantly because they were not considered to be human beings. So until the end of the 18th century, very few slaves had been converted. However in the meantime the slaves were coping with the extreme harshness of every day life and as a group they kept their own symbolic framework--which was African religion--alive. While re-enacting their religion--

adding new dimensions as called for by the oppressiveness of the environment and the extreme challenge to survive --their symbolic framework was not just a "coping religion", but an "enabling one" (to use the terms applied by R. B. Simpson in a research on contemporary Black religion in the 1960's in St. Louis[21]). A strictly functionalist interpretation of the Slave religion, as given by Chalmers Johnson or a pure Marxian constraining definition could miss the essential stuff of which religion is made: socio-cultural dynamics for physical and holistic survival.

There is evidence of the messianic tradition throughout Negro history, especially during the Slave rebellions. In comparative theoretical perspective Mullin juxtaposes Gabriel's Insurrection of 1801 to the other two well-known and well-researched Slave rebellions under respectively Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey.

> Preliminary research indicates that the acculturative experience, a hitherto neglected dimension of slavery, may also enrich our understanding of the other major insurrections ab which the slaves have provided ample testimony. The cultural differences among slaves--so evident and divisive in the 1800 rebellion--were also manifested in the religious dimensions of the insurrections of Denmark Vesey (Charleston, South Carolina, 1822) and Nat Turner (Southampton County, Virginia, 1831).[22]

The historical perspective on acculturation among the Blacks and on religion as a dynamic force reordering or completely recreating the symbolic universe of the group whose survival is at stake, especially during prolonged oppression or during short critical moments of rebellion, is directly relevant to contemporary Black movements of acculturation.

> Religion and magic sustained Nat Turner's rebellion . . . Turner who was not a preacher in the conventional sense but a seer and holy man, also politicized his men by means of dream interpretations and feats of fortune telling and numerology. In this instance, too, an astrological event (an eclipse of the sun) made a tremendous impact on the black country folk; they saw it as a favorable sign.[23]

Mullen then shows how Denmark Vesey stands somewhat half way between the two others as far as the sacred and the profane are concerned.

> While he normally based his appeals on political grounds, he recognized the connection between religious sanctions and rebellion from below . . . he used sermons based on the Bible; he also delegated to . . . a native African and "doctor" the responsibility of forming the rural blacks . . . into "African" legions, but like Gabriel; he failed because his rebellion was urban-based . . . Only Nat Turner who charged his plan with supernatural signs and sacred music, poetic language that inspired action, was able to transcend the worlds of plantation and the city. Only Turner led a sustained rebellion.[24]

In many parts of Africa in the so-called Independent Churches movement, the Blacks would call the New Testament the White man's religion and the Old Testament the Bible of the Black man's salvation. The message of the western missionaries was turned upside down in order to make sense to the natives who had come to the alarming conclusion that the White man did not practice at all what he preached.

Similarly in the United States since the period of slavery there always was a natural identification with the Old Testament which became increasingly manifest after the turn of the century. Strongly identifying with the "lost sheep", the "lost tribes" became a recurrent theme. Moses had led the Israelites out of the house of Egypt which stood for present Black slavery and White oppression. A free improvising use of biblical themes by adapting them to harsh daily life experiences became a new form of expressing amongst people for whom all regular avenues were blocked off. Total and deliberate exclusion from the socio-political order meant double alienation from the White man's order and from the White man's church. So the oppressed took refuge in what Howard Brotz calls "Judaistic idiosyncracy"--a strong belief in being God's chosen people. They were the true Israelites who had been forcefully removed from their homeland: Ethiopia.

e) Forerunners

The most obscure and earliest forerunners of the Black Muslims were the Black Jews whose revitalization efforts of their imagined past (Black Jewish identity) is most pertinent here to our theme of group projection towards an idealized past. Already in the 19th century the Blacks had been looking up at the Jewish community because of its economic achievements (as pointed out by A. Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915, Ann Arbor, 1963. Compare Lenski, The Religious Factor. A Sociologist's Inquiry, page 36, on the strong communal bond amongst Jewish people.) According to Booker T. Washington, the Jews were as oppressed as the Negroes, but could draw upon a rich cultural uniqueness because they were by collective birthright the chosen people who consequently had faith in themselves.

> Unless the Negro learns more and more to imitate the Jew in these matters, to have faith in himself, he cannot expect to have any high degree of success.[25]

The Blacks discovered they were rejected by the Jews who did not want to convert Blacks at all. So the Blacks started enacting their own Jewish conversion by reweaving their web of identity and by creating and recreating a new Jewish eschatology in which a reversal of roles took place. The White Jews were now only the pretenders to the throne of David. The Blacks were the true inheritors. Howard Brotz has termed this an "explosive sense of the past". (Phylon, xiii, 1952, pp. 324-325.)

The Black Jews became inspired by Black nationalism and Jewish Zionism which made them articulate their racial pride.

> Like their Jewish counterparts, most American Negroes would watch with eager interest the building of a free Zionist state in Africa. They could be counted upon for generous financial support and enthusiastic moral encouragement. But only a few would be ready to undertake the hard and thankless pioneer work needed to create a Black Israel in the African jungle.[26]

As analysed in detail by Deanne Shapiro,[27] the small movements of Black Judaism in the late 19th and early 20th century should be seen as a desperate response to the high level of urban anomie. (Compare Sundkler)

In 1899, the Moorish Zionist temple was started in Harlem by a southern migrant evangelist who claimed in brief: we who are Black worship Christ; Christ was a Jew; so we are Black Jews. Extensive symbols were introduced to underline the goal. The set-up was a total community with group homes and shops and all marital ties foresworn. The cult did not last long. The identification with Jewish tradition was shallow, and the general orientation was basically Christian.

After some schisms and reorganizations, a new cult was formed in the 1920's called Betl B'nai Abraham: Blacks were now said to be Hebrews by virtue of being true Africans. "Negroes" do not exist; they are only an artificial by-product of White civilization. Again this is the Western European centered perspective on history, in reverse. The leader detected--or mostly invented--Hebrew cultural elements in Africa. Black Jews were supposed to have originated in Nigeria, or Carthage, or from the Sinai, or in Sudan.

The Betl B'nai Abraham managed to sell some stocks on the market in order to build up trade with West Africa--not very successfully. Members wore turbans and sang old Garveyism songs. Special classes were held in Hebrew, Arabic, mathematics and mechanics. However, too many schisms broke up the cult in 1930. It appears that by then Black Judaism had exhausted the theme of Black cultural nationalism it had been obsessed with for so long.

Another small sect, the Ethiopian Hebrews, claimed to have access to the lost heritage of the African past and proved themselves to be direct descendants from Ethiopian Jews, or maybe from a Jewish sect in Madagascar . . . or from Solomon and his queen Sheba . . . Shapiro concludes in her article that all these American Jewish cults use the Hebrew tradition as both a mystique and rational theology. On the believing individuals this has an emancipatory impact.

This kind of deliberate use of a suitable past was attempted in a situation of deep frustration and despair. So history, culture and religion had to be invented again by the group to escape from the present stigmatized status of being Black. As surveyed by G. E. Simpson (Black Religion in the New World) the wide variety of Black cults and sects cannot be done justice here. A dominant characteristic seems the search for community amongst Blacks, because the White system was totally exclusive. The sects crystallized around a. charismatic leader who may have had access to some special healing and magical practices. Most services were rather restrained. There was not much extasis or trance-inspired behavior. Often there were some educational group programs forming part of the cult's organization.

In the well-known cult of Father Divine,[28] total submission to the charismatic leader was a prime prerequisite. Father Divine claimed to take care of everything for everybody. As a matter of fact, he just about did so andtthis was his major appeal and strength: he preordained complete regulation of the individual angel's life, and provided all faithful members in a rather this-worldly manner with basic needs like food, shelter and counselling for some form of employment. The strict group life-style was puritanical with many food taboos and total abstention. What was somewhat unusual in this charismatic leader: he had an acute sense for small business and combined this practical insight with strong opposition to any form of discrimination in general. Even more, he was supportive of civil rights, and although he preached "buy Black", he did not reject White society and the goal of assimilation.[29] Burkett says that it is very important to underline that both Divine's Peace mission and the Black Muslims claim Garvey as their spiritual predecessor. However, the religious reweaving of the web was done in a very different manner. Father Divine's "kingdoms" were not of this world. His deliberate break with Afro-African culture--both secular and religious--made the appeal of the cult limited. The Nation of Islam was much more of this world. Yet by imposing the revitalized Black religion of Islam--or created for the situational needs of the Blacks in the ghettoes of the United States--Muhammad perhaps made his movement too exclusive.

Cults, sects, even some movements all based on apocalyptic visions and prophetic revelations had been mushrooming amongst America's Blacks since the turn of the century, especially since World War I, and coinciding with the traumatic northward urban migration, the post-war depression and disillusionment amongst the Negroes. Many Blacks had taken part in America's war effort abroad in order to witness, upon their return to what they thought would be an improved condition at home, massive riots breaking out in their home cities. This form of White aggression kept spreading on a scale not witnessed before. The Ku Klux Klan rose out of its ashes again and mob lynching was the order of the day. This rather recent period in American history may not be as well known as it should. Depression is most commonly thought of as hitting hard all Americans in the 1930's, but not so much as starting right after World War I and as a predominantly White backlash against all Blacks, both in the South and North. These were the years that apocalyptic stirrings amongst the Blacks turned from sporadic into epidemic.

Marcus Garvey, the most impressive leader of all, was directing his mass movement at the same time as Noble Drew Ali was operating his Temples on a smaller scale but along similar lines of philosophy. Drew Ali thought of Garvey as just a forerunner of himself, as a John the Baptist. In Draper's interpretation, Drew's emigrationism was purely psychological and reassuring the followers just to wait for the clearly defined signs of theffinal cataclysm: a comet or a star within a crescent moon. Then all Europeans would be destroyed instantaneously and the Earth would be restored to its old glory, but for Blacks only.

Noble Drew Ali started the Moorish Science Temples in Newark, New Jersey, in 1913. He was an ideal-typical obscure prophet-leader who rose to great glory in his own movement. His real name had been Timothy Drew. At first, almost illiterate himself, he was peddling middle-eastern silks, medicines and food stuff as a door-to-door travelling and preaching salesman in the Black ghettoes. He wanted to try out on his customers some of the mysterious ideas which were cyrstallizing in his fertilemmind.

Wallace D. Fard, known under a variety of names and spellings operated at first in Detroit as an initiated member of a Moorish Temple there, fifteen years after Noble Drew Ali had started. Then later he initiated his own movement in Chicago. He was an itinerant laborer, son of a Baptist preacher, who had been wandering from the deep South into the North, attracted by the wonderous tales about the big cities and their rumored bountiful employment. He ended up unemployed himself most of the time in the late '20s and early '30s. Then, after a brief span as a Baptist minister himself, he was put in jail for quite a few years (1941-46), feeling rejected in the North, especially in Detroit where he never was put to work in the car factories he had come for.

Timothy Drew had not been a particularly well-educated man, but he showed a profound perception of the predicament the Blacks were in. He improvised a mystical and religious framework based on rather disparate elements taken from a variety of sources--Koran, Bible, Jehovah's Witnesses movements--but falling in place rather well in the eye of the beholder. His own "Koran", a small pamphlet, proved to the readers and instant believers that they were not so-called American Negroes. They were authentic Asiatics and/or Moorish. Many followers were believers first, then became readers in the process. Drew Ali actually taught his own followers to read and write while preaching to them. It was a most effective grass-roots educational program geared in manifold ways towards the needs of the people themselves. Their collective origin was to be identified with a mystic Moorish African past or with the Moabites--a tribe mentioned in the Old Testament. Timothy Drew himself had a blind belief in name changing which to him worked miracles for the bearer of the new name. Draper calls it a thaumaturgical name changing game (compare Bryan Wilson on his category of "thaumaturgical" millenarian movements) which he and his followers took seriously as instant salvation. Arabic prefixes like "el" or "bey" were added to existing names and all subordinate assistants were automatically elevated to Sheiks.

> Drew had no training in the social sciences but he did have the perception to realize that there is a very definitive relationship between what you are called and how you are perceived, and

> between how you are perceived and how you are treated. "It is in the name," he concluded, "the black man's problems began with accepting a pejorative nomenclature."[30]

Fard used a variety of sources to season his messages about the wickedness of the White man and the glorious but lost past of the Aso-African Blacks. Apocalyptic captions taken from Jehovah's Witnesses materials, long appropriately chosen quotations from van Loon's well-known survey Story of Mankind and from James Breasted's work on ancient history, some ideas from the Free Masonry, Baptist fundamentalist and what not--these were blended together into one new impressive history of the superior Black race. During this process of conversion and positive consciousness raising, some of the eager participants were at the same time taught to read--and think--for themselves. Truly emancipatory dimensions--both on individual and group level--were present.

Elijah Poole's career as a prophet-leader started off in a similar way, wandering from south to north, looking for employment, but mostly searching for a universal meaning in the midst of daily Black misery--also ending up in jail for quite a few years. However, Elijah managed to rise faster and to greater glory because of his creative and consistant leadership.

Compared to the later movement of the Black Muslims, the earlier cult of the Black Moors was more incoherent, fissiparous, e. g. mysteriously guaranteed contracts written on paper were given to the initiated only, promising them a political status. Was this a future in their home country? Drew Ali mixed his own version of Islam with what Essien-Udom describes as a racial nationalistic theology. His concept of separation was based on racial purity. Udom defines Noble Drew Ali's cult as mostly religious and Garvey's movement as more secular. In Garvey's more economic-political perspective, Africa as a continent of group identification became a secular religion itself.

Lincoln, too, juxtaposes the two movements as religious nationalism versus political nationalism.

> . . . Garvey declared, "We do not want all Negroes to settle in Africa. Some are no good here, and naturally will not be good there." His real intentions seem to have been not unlike those of modern zionism. Negroes would come from all over the world, bringing with them a wealth of technical and professional skills. Within a few years, he hopes the new state would gain such prestige and power that it would be recognized as a symbol of accomplishment and protection for Negroes all over the world. For Garvey was convinced, as is Elijah Muhammad, that the Negro can hope for neither peace nor dignity while he lives in a white society. Like Muhammad, he saw only one solution: the establishment of a separate nation "so strong as to strike fear" into the hearts of the oppressors white race. . . . Presumably his black state when it became sufficiently powerful, would begin a revolution that would free all Africa, for he spoke mysteriously of the hour of "Africa's Redemption": It is in the wind. It is coming. One day, like a storm, it will be here.[31]

Drew Ali's enterprise was on the microlevel comparable to Garveyism. As far as the starting of Black business is concerned, Noble Drew Ali only made some money on the side line selling so-called "Moorish" herbs, spices and ailments and making available to members fezzes and badges.

In his later article, in retrospective, Lincoln summarized the Moorish Science movement as:

> A melange of black nationalism and Christian revivalism with an awkward, confused patina of the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. It was not Islam, but significantly, it was the recovery of the awareness of Islam.[32]

Garvey built up a whole complex structure of Black enterprises, including the notorious Black Star Shipping Line which ended in a spectacular failure: a financial catastrophe of grandiose proportions all of which has been over and again blamed on Garvey as a "poor organizer", "unrealistic dreamer", and "dangerous fantast". Garvey did lack practical business acumen. Consequently, during the process of getting some Black businesses off the ground, he became the victim of some of his own shadowy followers.[33] (See the following discussion of Garvey as a leader and visionary.)

The parallel is striking between the descriptions given by Draper, Essien-Udom and Lincoln of these forerunner movements in the ghettoes of the United States, and the analysis of how millenarian movements start in the colonial context both in the past and the present by Worsley, Adas, Barnett, Wipper, Barrett, and Sundkler.

Marcus Garvey came from Jamaica where he was involved in organizing trade unionism until this was suppressed. In London, he acquired his deep interest in Pan-Africanism. Then he went to New York where he started the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Cronon's study Black Moses (University of Wisconsin Press, 1955, reprinted with new preface in 1969) is the best available historical analysis of this great leader and the mass movement he almost single-handedly got off the ground and managed (1917-1927). However, Cronon's historically correct interpretation--scholarly and well researched--may have been written from a somewhat condescending and patronizing white American middle-class perspective. Cronon did not have access to the documents dealing with Garvey's later career in Jamaica where, in the 1930's, he initiated an impressive and innovative social and educational program. Cronon only covers Garvey's activities in the United States during the first decade after the First World War. As critically summarized:

> Cronon did little more than maintain that Garvey was a black nationalist, struggling for social justice, racial dignity and racial self-respect.[34]

Theodore G. Vincent's later study, Black Power and the Garvey Movement, shows Garvey to be a most efficient mass movement organizer with an extremely fertile mind and an analytical insight into racial conditions. Vincent's book is not as well written and organized as Cronon's academic treatment of the same movement. However, he gives a more balanced and better documented account of the political and ideological struggles the Universal Negro Improvement Association had to face.

> Vincent viewed Garveyism as competing not only with the middle class centrism of DuBois, the NAACP and the Urban League, but also with the black activists and intellectuals, communists, nationalists and socialists, some of them more radical than Garvey himself. Vincent aimed to analyse Garvey and his movement in its appropriate context.[35]

Garvey's movement has been persistently underestimated in its innovative and radicalizing impact. His religious dimensions present throughout his activities may have been misinterpreted as reactionary or escapist fantasies. His approach towards the persistent Negro problem of oppression and alienation, and the organizational techniques and communicating skills he used, were indeed modern and radical, far ahead of his time. This was the main reason, I think, that he failed to accomplish--first in the United States and later in Jamaica--what he had on his agenda. Combining more recent interpretations of Garveyism and supplying contemporary concepts of social change, social movement, and religion as a motivating force, I would suggest that Garvey's main goal was to raise consciousness amongst the Blacks. He also sought to raise the generally low level of their education so that they would finally acquire the proper schooling for both decent and advanced employment in the White man's society.[36] He was a Community Development facilitator with increasing emphasis on adult education and group awareness--even before these specific terms and concepts were known. He practiced conscientization long before Freire advocated the same thing. He was by no means a fool or religious nationalistic fanatic as he was far too often depicted, both by the White and Negro middle-class press of his own time. His organizational activities in the United States should be compared to his community development efforts in the 1930's in Jamaica--where he returned after having been released from jail and extradited by the United States because of the mail defrauding incident.

> During this second Jamaican phase of Garveyism, however, Garvey did not succeed in colonial politics, not because he failed to strike a responsive chord with the Jamaican populace, but because the existing political situation did not allow those whose thinking had begun to be emancipated by Garveyism to express themselves. He did not succeed at trade organization, but because the powerful capitalist classes were not prepared to allow a legal trade union movement . . . . He was a pioneer of organized political life, providing education for his followers through coherent party programmes.[37]

Garvey was the most complex forerunner of the Black

Muslim movement. He had a permanent impact on the Nation of the Islam: quite a few of the latter had been active Garveyites before. Moreover, some were ex-followers of Noble Drew Ali. This was often publicly acknowledged by Muhammad and Malcolm. The Black Muslims were a continuation, another powerful variation on the same themes of Black nationalism and religious and cultural identification with a lost past that had to be resurrected or (if erased) recreated from scratch.[38]

Garvey used far more colorful and loud decor in his mass meetings, such as parades, rituals, music, badges, banners, military and social-educational sub-units and brigades which all carried fancy medieval English names and titles. Compared to his splendid and highly diversified organization, the Nation of the Islam looked pale and bare. But the principles applied in both social movements were deeply related. Also both ventured into small black enterprises like financing and starting grocery stores, small restaurants, hotels, barber shops, laundries and farms. In these fields on a smaller scale, the Black Muslims proved more successful.

Even Garvey's strong opponent, Dubois, gives him in mild retrospective considerable credit for his achievements:

> It was a grandiose and bombastic scheme, utterly impractical as a whole, but it was sincere and

> had some practical features; and Garvey proved not only an astonishing popular leader, but a master of propaganda.[39]

Roi Ottley, who was far more unsympathetic in general towards the movement, had to concede the following praise to his fierce opponent:

> Concretely, the movement set in motion what was to be the most compelling force in Negro life--race and color consciousness, which is today that ephemeral thing that inspires "race loyalty", the banner to which Negroes rally; the chain that binds them together. It has propelled many a political and social movement and stimulated racial internationalism . . . It accounts for much constructive belligerency today.[40]

f) The Millenarian Context

In the context of this thesis, I like to emphasize the apocalyptic spirit manifest in American history and society since the early beginnings of the first colonies. To return to some of Barkum's preconditions necessary for the rise of millenarianism; whenever a region or whole country can be defined as a "burned over district", millenialism is most likely to break out again and again, continuing the same millenarian spirit. American history is rich in these examples: The Latter Day Saints had moved all the way out to the West to found their own Theocracy, which later continuously adjusted to society's increasing pressures, and then developed into another denomination called The Mormons. By the time Garvey appeared on the American scene, the frontier as such was closed. Of course, Garvey never harbored a vision of a Utopia in the American West, but in Africa. Moreover, the last hopes to ever get Black communities off the ground in Oklahoma had been dashed by the time the First World War broke out. At that time, the White settlements had successfully encircled all-Black communities making dependent enclaves out of what was meant to become an independent province (or nation?) of some sort.

One could safely say in appropriately apocalyptical terms, that Garvey's arrival on the American stage happened during the fullness of time: an old period concluded, a new one initiated; the great Negro leader DuBois was dead, the migration from the south was just getting into full swing and on the international scene, the Russian Revolution started unfolding a new panorama on how changes could be brought about drastically and imminently. A bit later during the formation of the League of Nations, a long debate started on a brand new topic: rights for oppressed minorities within existing nations based on majority rule. It was not surprising then that a man like Garvey at this point in time came up with a compact package outlining human rights and advocating--in strong terms--full dignity and citizenship for all Blacks wherever in the world, especially in the United States.

> That we believe in the supreme authority of our race in all things racial; that all things are created and given to man as a common possession; that there should be an equitable distribution and apportionment of all such things, and in consideration of the fact that as a race we are now deprived of those things that are morally and legally ours, we believe it right that all such things should be acquired and held by whatsoever means possible. That we believe the Negro like any other race should be governed by the ethics of civilization and therefore, should not be deprived of any of those rights or privileges common to other human beings.
>
> We declare that Negroes, wheresoever they form a community among themselves, should be given the right to elect their own representatives to represent them in legislatures, courts of law, or such institutions that may exercise control over their particular community.
>
> We believe in the freedom of Africa for the Negro people of the world and by the principle of Europe for the Europeans and Asia for Asiatics; we also demand Africa for the Africans at home and abroad.
>
> We believe in the inherent right of the Negro to possess himself of Africa . . . [41]

The essence of Garveyism is most pertinent to our understanding of the Black Muslim movement: reweaving of the web of collective identity which had been badly damaged, almost destroyed by centuries of total oppression, slavery and second-class citizenship. Garvey was often described as a colorful charlatan because his intensive search for a reassuring, revitalized and deeply satisfying Black identity was misinterpreted as naive. Basically, Marcus Garvey had cut out for himself a most demanding task: to design an acceptable form of Black civil religion. This dimension of Garveyism was not consistently brought out until the recent study Garveyism as a Religious Movement by Randall K. Burkett.

> He unabashedly set out to create a new/old mythos, a coherent interpretation of reality which, while clearly building on elements long established in the tradition of the Black church, yet moved to a new level of self-consciousness and consciousness-formation. He boldly posited a coherent theological system complete with a doctrine of God--a Black God, the express designation of which was to shatter old patterns of belief and to demonstrate the fact that all men, all Black men, are created in his image. The panopy of symbols, the theology, the pomp and ceremony, the use of music as well as the adumbration and explication to the theme of nationhood (from the creation of dukes and knights, the issuing of passports and establishment of a civil service, to creation of a flag, motto and national anthem) were advanced to demonstrate to all men and women of African descent their essential oneness in the struggle for survival in a hostile, White dominated world . . . The resurrection to come was of the Negro people as a whole: that which was to be redeemed was Africa, the promised land.[42]

Similarly the essence of the Black Muslim movement was the reweaving of the web, or rather the creating from scratch, of the collective identity for the despised Black by Elijah Muhammad.

> Among his more commonly recognized achievements were his enormous contributions to the dignification and self-esteem of the black undercaste in America. But beyond that, and perhaps indefinitively more far-reaching in its implications is the fact that it was Elijah Muhammad who must be credited with the serious re-introduction of Islam to America in modern times, giving it peculiar mystique, the appeal and respect without which it could not have penetrated the American bastion of Judeo-Christian democracy.[43]

Compared to Noble Drew Ali, Elijah Muhammad accomplished the most profound and professional job: bringing Islam back as a religion in a deeply revitalized form. Noble Drew Ali put together a peculiar blend of fundamentalist longing for personal salvation and some kind of redemptionist nationalism for the whole Black group, framed in an appealing quasi-Islamic setting. Verses from The Koran were used to convey the revivalist message of Black frustrations and hopes.

> Drew Ali provided American Negroes with a new national origin that made them part of a far-flung Moorish Nation that had somehow made its way to North America. This new nationality was the key to Drew Ali's teachings and influence. "Before you can have a God," he preached, "you must have a nationality."[44]

As Elijah Muhammad said himself, he was going to "cut the cloak to fit the cloth". This is an unusually self-conscious statement by a charismatic leader recalling his unique task, his true calling in Weberian terms to revitalize the religious awareness and identification for the whole group. Eric Lincoln states convincingly that whatever is left of religious awareness never dies completely.

> Although the effort was made by those who enslaved them to expurge every vestige of any previous religious experience from mind and memory, there is an undeniable quality about religion that defies expunction. The memory of religion will be expurgated, a fact well attested by African "syncretism" . . . The memory of Islam, however tenuous, was never completely lost to the slave experience.[45]

Muhammad freely mixed elements taken from the Bible and the Koran and used religious and secular mythology as he saw fit. In a way he created his own supplement to the Islamic ethic because how otherwise

> . . . does one portray the reality of Allah to a people whose total experience is washed in the pus of racial oppression: he cut the cloak in terms of the cloth available. Elijah Muhammad did not achieve orthodoxy for the Nation of Islam, but orthodoxy was not his goal. What he did achieve was a pronounced American awareness of Islam, its power and its potential[46]

Burkett applies Bellah's concept of civil religion to Garvey and his movement crystallizing around Black civil religion. He briefly rewords Bellah's thesis.

> . . . that (for the most part White) American's self-interpretation is a people chosen by God to be "light unto the nations"--as either exemplar or savior of both--is not simply a meaningless or sacrilegious invocation of divine sanction for its own perceived interests. The civil religion "has its own seriousness and integrity"; indeed, at its best, it is a "powerful motivating myth" predicated on a shared historical experience, and it possesses the capacity of calling the nation itself into being, and then into judgement, in the name of higher ideals to which it is dedicated.[47]

Elijah Muhammad introduced, and Malcolm X reinforced a new motivating force to the Blacks who had been socialized systematically into believing and accepting that they were underdogs and underachievers in the White man's system of power and prestige. The revitalized "Islamic Ethic" transformed outcasts into believers and achievers with a strongly positive image of themselves both as individuals and as a group. From a despised subculture with little or no "conscience collective" and with a long pre-history of repeated rejection, ongoing failure, and increasing apathy, they suddenly became literally reborn and completely transformed, proudly participating in the Black Nation of the Islam. Imminently they acquired status and prestige, even a modest level of well-being because of some regular job, and deep involvement in the local Temple's activities throughout the week. It was an unusual form of full and rewarding citizenship granted in the Black Nation, perhaps a surrogate type of citizenship from an outsider's point of view. However, for the fervent believer, it was a truly emancipatory change. It had immediate beneficial side-effects for him, both in the realm of the sacred--by gaining identity and status--and in the more practical field of the profane--by becoming gainfully employed and acquiring power and influence as a group.

FOOTNOTES

[1] No innovative approach has been added since these early publications. Some dimensions were better elaborated, specifically the historical and sociological aspects of emigrationism by Theodore Draper in The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism (New York: The Viking Press, 1969). A breakthrough in understanding Black nationalism in all its varieties in contemporary movements is provided by Raymond L. Hall's incisive two studies: Black Separatism in the United States (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1978), and Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason (New York: Pergamon Press Inc., 1977).

[2] Eric Lincoln, The American Muslim Mission in the Context of American Social History, mimeographed paper given at a Symposium on Dimensions of Islam in North America (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta, Department of Religious Studies, May, 1980).

[3] Baumer, "20th Century Version of Apocalypse", European Intellectual History Since Darwin and Marx, ed. Warren Wagar (New York: Harper Torch Books, 1966), p. 114.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Also to be mentioned here is Huizinga's famous forerunner, Johann Burckhardt and his Weltegeschichtliche Betrachtungen: a most depressing cultural history.

[6] Yonina Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium: The Relation Between Religion and Social Change," Archives europeennes de sociologie, 3 (1962), pp. 125-148.

[7] Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism: The Rise of the Black Muslims in the U. S. A. (Pelican Books England, 1966), p. 99. Chapter "Rootlessness", pp. 91-98.

[8] Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 783-791.

[9] Lincoln, op. cit. See also Eric Lincoln (ed.), The Black Experience in Religion (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1974). For the same aspect the following studies in this series should be of culture, religion and identity, although there is no analysis of Black religion as a millenarian movement. James H. Cone, A Black Theology of Liberation; Henry N. Mitchell, Black Preaching; Gayraud S. Wilmore, Black Religion and Black Radicalism; William Jones, Is God a White Racist?; Leonard E. Barrett, Soul-Force.

[10] Burkett, Garveyism as a Religious Movement, "Foreword" (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1978), p. xiv.

[11] Essien-Udom, op. cit., Chapter 2, "The Nationalist Tradition," pp. 31-67; and Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), Chapter 3, "Black Nationalism: The Minor Leagues: Religious Nationalism: The Moorish Science Temples, Political Nationalism: The Garvey Movement, Preparing the Way for Allah," pp. 50-66.

[12] Raymond L. Hall, Black Separatism in the United States, p. 107. Also compare The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1964), p. 377.

[13] "In Conversation with Paolo Freire," Development and Civilization, 51 (January - March, 1973).

[14] Paraphrased from Essien-Udom, op. cit., pp. 115-132; Hall, op. cit., pp. 97-104, Draper, op. cit., pp 69-96; and Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America, pp. 68-80. Essien-Udom emphasizes how Heaven and Earth are not to be taken in a transcendental meaning but as present and future concrete conditions flowing in a logical manner: Hell is present ghetto misery and Heaven is employment, respect, status, and good living soon. A Hopi prophesy of destruction of the earth because of so-called development by the Whites. See Suzanne Gordon, Black Mesa, The Angel of Death (New York: 1973).

[15] M. J. Herskovits, The New World Negro. Selected Papers in Afro-American Studies (Minerva Press, 1969).

[16] George Rawick, From Sundown to Sunup. The Making of the Black Community (Westport, Connecticut: 1972).

[17] Ibid., p. 31.

[18] Ibid., p. 32

[19] Ibid., pp. 32-33.

[20] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[21] "A Black Church: Ecstacy in a World of Trouble" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 1970), pp. 175-211.

[22] Gerry Mullin, "Religion, Acculturation and the American Negro Rebellions: Gabriel's Insurrection," American Slavery: The Question of Resistance, Bracey Meier Rudwick (ed.) (Belmont, California: 1971), p. 176.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Booker T. Washington, "The Future of the American Negro," Black Jews, Howard Brotz (ed.), p. 8.

[26] David E. Cronon, Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955), p. 128.

[27] Deanne Shapiro "Double Damnation, Double Salvation: The Sources and Varieties of Black Judaism in the United States," (unpublished Master's Thesis, Columbia University), a summary of which is printed in The Black Experience in Religion, Eric C. Lincoln (ed.), pp. 253-274.

[28] William M. Kephart, Extraordinary Groups: The Sociology of Unconventional Lifestyles (New York: 1976), pp. 107-157.

[29] This made him an enemy in the eyes of Marcus

Garvey who expressed his anger at Father Divine on several occasions. However, when Garveyism collapsed as a movement, it was the Father Divine cult that bought the printing presses from Garvey's defunct movement.

[30] Lincoln, The American Muslim Mission in the Context of American Social History.

[31] Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America.

[32] Lincoln, The American Muslim Mission in the Context of American Social History.

[33] This incident was blown out of proportion by his fierce opponents: compare Cronon's version of the ill reputed affair made into a real scandal to Theodore Vincent and Burkett's more neutral interpretations of the same incident.

[34] Vinston Williams, "Marcus Garvey and his Movement" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Saskatchewan, 1974), p. 176.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Booker T. Washington had only advocated basic and vocational training for Black people. This implied adjustment to the society as controlled by the White majority. Garvey went far beyond that limited accommodating goal by claiming full human resources development as a basic right for all Blacks in whatever society. Naturally, such a wide ranging program was perceived as a direct threat by the White "metropolis".

[37] Williams, op. cit., p. 176.

[38] An offshoot of Garveyism became the Ras Tafari movement in Jamaica, starting in the 1930's and identifying in a far more exotic manner with everything African, specifically Ethiopian. The agent of redemption is not supposed to be any modern form of organization nor any social-political action: it is the Emperor Haile Selassi in person who personifies the Messiah, and who will return all his followers in the fullness of time to their homeland. All Blacks are true Ethiopians by birthright and

the emperor is the invincible Lion of Judah. Compare G. E. Simpson, "The Ras Tafari Movement in Jamaica in its Millennial Aspect," Millenarian Dreams in Action, S. Thrupp (ed.) (New York: Schocken Books, 1970); Smith, Augier and Nettleford "Report on the Ras Tafari Movement," Black Experience in Religion, Eric Lincoln (ed.) (New York: 1974); G. E. Simpson, Religious Cults of the Caribbean: Trinidad, Jamaica and Haiti (Revised Edition, Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico, 1970); Frances Anne Crushley, "The Ras Tafari Brethren: An Analysis of Political Developments in a Black Millenarian Movement" (Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Political Science Department, 1971).

[39] Dubois, Dusk of Dawn (New York: Schocken Books, 1944), p. 277.

[40] Ottley, New World A-Coming, p. 81.

[41] "Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World," Marcus Garvey, ed. E. D. Cronon (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1973), pp. 30-37. In an elaborate preamble to this declaration, complaints were voiced in a systematic manner, e. g.: "We complain that (1) nowhere in the world, with few exceptions, are black men accorded equal treatment with white men, although in the same situation and circumstances, but, on the contrary, are discriminated against and denied the common rights due to human beings for no other reason than their race and color. We are not willingly accepted as guests in the public hotels and inns of the world for no other reason than our race and color. In certain parts of the United States of America our race is denied the right of public trial . . . That European nations have parcelled out among themselves and taken possession of nearly all of the continent of Africa, and the natives are compelled to surrender their lands to aliens and are treated in most instances like slaves . . . On the public conveyances and common carriers in the Southern portion of the United States we are jim-crowed . . . Our children are forced to attend inferior separate schools for shorter terms than white children and the public school funds are unequally divided between the white and colored schools . . . We are discriminated against and denied an equal chance to earn wages . . .

[42] Randall K. Burkett, Garveyism as a Religious Movement (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1978), pp. 6-8.

[43] Eric Lincoln, The American Muslim Mission in the Context of American Social History, p. 13.

[44] Theodore Draper, op. cit., p. 71.

[45] Eric Lincoln, The American Muslim Mission in the Context of American Social History, p. 10.

[46] Ibid., p. 17.

[47] Burkett, op. cit., p. 7.

CHAPTER V

EPILOGUE

For CD philosophy and practice millenarian movements form a rich field to investigate social change as a cross-cultural phenomenon, generated by mobilization of the societal group's own but revitalized resources, to focus on innovation as a collective process under charismatic leadership and on unorthodox manners of modernization designed by the group itself while in acute and threatening confrontation with rapid changes.

My conclusions are--that there is potentially room and cause for the phenomenon of millenarianism to rise in all types of societies, in all possible periods, past, present and future. Millenarian consciousness is part and parcel of an ongoing process of reweaving of the social web. Religion or whatever symbolic framework that holds a society, cult, sect or movement together is not solely a reaction to a sudden threat from outside, a disaster, perceived deprivation, abrupt loss of status or continuously experienced status discrepancy. Rather, any group is continuously and collectively engaged in maintaining and adding, modifying and revitalizing its own framework.

This was most convincingly brought out by Hans Mol in his analysis Identity and the Sacred: Sketch for a New Social-Scientific Theory of Religion. This study should become a fundamental textbook for students and practitioners in the field of CD. It could generate innovative approaches towards the ambiguous and evasive concept of "community" and when applied in conjunction with recent ground-breaking analytical studies of millenarian movements, it could open up new vistas on societal groups "religiously" engaged in rebuilding their niche of belonging and projecting their shared dreams into reality. This dynamic aspect of millenarian movements may throw more light on social mobility and especially on the whole concept of class consciousness, on the so-called "culture of poverty". It may show how disenfranchised societal groups break out of stagnation on their own initiative.

The most impressive outcome of a millenarian movement may be that the group establishes or regains its own identity by rescuing it from the shambles caused by the onslaught on its own socio-cultural base. During this revitalization process, it manages to rework its own positive self image, transcending in strength, coherence and intensity what it had been before. After the millenarian fervor has reworked itself out in concrete results such as group unity, collective pride about the past and goals for the future, a new sort of work ethos becomes norm. Extravagant hopes and exotic projections now take on a new form of persistent motivation. Instead of a frantic search for an Exodus to far-away fatherland --a divinely ordained homeland--the same people are now working towards full acceptance and maybe even complete assimilation into the societal structure which they had been so fiercely attacking before because of being excluded from it so systematically.

The Black Muslims seem to illustrate this cycle of development as a movement in an almost ideal-typical manner. Not so the Ras Tafaris who will be analysed more specifically in this chapter to show a very different outcome of a contemporary counter-culture and protest movement.

The study of millenarian movements should become mandatory for CD students and practitioners. It has a sobering impact on the observer of such movements because it affects basic CD principles. Acquiring a historical and cross-cultural perspective is crucial in order to perceive the essence of all millenarian movements: the collective struggle to come to terms with a multiplicity of changes imposing themselves on the societal group which in order to survive at all has to rescue and reinforce its own identity. This revitalization process has been underestimated or even completely ignored in CD. Terms such as "grass roots" and "where the group is at" are used too often in a shallow way implying that the CD facilitator will compromise with some of the goals professed by the group. The assumption is always that he is professionally working with indigenous leaders on somewhat their own terms.

In general, the CD facilitator may have been trained to look for a certain highly recommended end stage of development, fully acceptable to the mainstream of society, based on so-called empirical facts and western social-scientific principles. CD then is conceived of too easily as a sequence of procedures the group should ideally go through because another mainstream group "has made it" that way.

Crucial to understanding millenialism is the fact that the group identification process after extreme oppression is sometimes the only way out of sociocultural and political malaise. The Black Muslims epitomize in a dramatic manner--even though a comparatively small segment of total Black population--that the religiously revitalized group identity is a first necessary phase in order to get the whole group out of stagnation and oppression. In the longer run, the sect may use its rehabilitated--or completely recreated identity to move up on the societal ladder. The sect may become a pressure group to acquire social mobility. The earlier call for complete separation and full Black independence and claims that five American states be handed over immediately disappear from the list of group priorities. The millenarian spirit has transformed itself into a counter group ideology. Utopia has disappeared from the group's horizon. Instead, rather immediate concrete gains are preferred in order to get a foothold in the total societal system. This millenarian movement then may have run its full course.[1]

To the more traditionalist-oriented student or practitioner of CD, the millenarian perspective may come across as severely unorthodox and deeply perplexing. The optimistic Biddle and Biddle introduction to community organization depicts CD as a smooth and slow, ideally controlled process of group development, self-help and advancement by a series of small sessions, then increasingly bigger yet orderly and rational meetings. This is a logical sequence of western-type democratic procedures which will guarantee progress for all involved. A millenarian movement instead appears like a noisy, disjointed and grotesque caricature of rational and normal CD.

Yet Biddle and Biddle and countless other North American social scientists may be viewed as true believers themselves in an optimistic philosophy of progress which has itself become a religion. There is a stubborn tendency to assume that CD implies one ideal-typical western styled sequence of development, whereas development is mostly cross-cultural by nature, and it should bring about mutual exchange.

The analysis of millenarian movements would show how frequently social change is a cross-cultural phenomenon. It may also throw some new light on the phenomenon of ethnicity: namely that projecting towards a revitalized past is a most natural reaction for any societal group which feels lost or cornered, and not fully accepted. Moreover, when finally accepted, there may be feelings of guilt, ambiguity and insecurity about having compromised or lost one's roots. Third-generation individuals may start all over again a frantic search for ethnic identity. Isajew in his studies of ethnicity in the "Canadian mosaic", shows how this persistent search for a lost identity is an ongoing concern, a deeply felt need amongst later generation ethnic Canadians.

Frustration arises from coping emotionally with sudden progress made in the new world. After having mastered in a short time span a technologically advanced life style and the most sophisticated forms of modernization, all these achievements--even the assimilation itself--fail to provide emotional satisfaction. A symbolic universe that anchors the individual's life in the new world is seriously lacking. What appeared so puzzling at first to North American sociologists--this stubborn return to old roots left behind in the country of origin--becomes deeply meaningful when viewed from the millenarian perspective. The search for the old lost identity may be seen as a form of nativistic movement. The cultural shock came more as an afterthought to the second and third generations of almost fully assimilated but still hyphenated Canadians. A strictly functionalist explanation may obscure the conflict dimension generated by the dynamics of acculturation.

For CD facilitators it is of crucial importance to be knowledgeable about the impact of a millenarian movement. The phenomenon conveys an unmistakable emergency message: the survival of a societal group is at stake. An alternative basic survival system is being improvised during the crisis by the members and put to work at the same time. Intensive creativity of the group in despair becomes manifest. It is community development on its own feverishly improvised terms. No barging in at this stage of the game is advisable.

The rise of any millenarian movement is symptomatic of the degree of oppressiveness imposed by the supraordinate group. The millenarian movement starts like a fever in Crane Brinton's analogy of revolution:

it has to work itself out. It is a barometer of how deeply frustrated and resentful the oppressed and excluded feel.

On the Canadian scene the Sachs Harbor report as told analytically by Peter Usher in The Bankslanders comes to mind. Could a millenarian movement have broken out over there, amongst this innovative group of migrants to Canada's North? They were perhaps not uprooted in the normal meaning of the word, yet they did have to migrate to a completely new territory, where they became extremely successful settlers and achievers. Yet they also had to carry out a hopeless fight for fair treatment and sociocultural equality against the mismanagement or wilful neglect by the metropolis, that is, the government and big business bureaucracies with their deceitful agents of political and economic control.

> A colonial situation is created, so to speak, the very instant a white man . . . appears in the midst of a tribe . . . as long as he is thought to be rich and powerful . . . (and has) in his most secret self a feeling of his own superiority.[2]

> Separately sure of their purposes and jointly convinced of their rightness, the three southern institutions began in the early 1920's to draw the Canadian Eastern Arctic into their compass. Generally speaking, missionaries, policemen and traders never 'discovered' Eskimos. By 1920, there were none left to discover. What they did, rather, was discover Eskimos who were 'in need' of Christianity, trading posts and enforcement of Canadian law.[3]

This case thus seems to epitomize in a nutshell what "underdevelopment" within the Canadian context can bring about. It shows how pressure exerted by the centralized power structure on the local and originally self-contained native community can frustrate the inhabitants to such a degree that they deteriorate into a state of dependency.

> There has been a continuity in the nature of changes the Eskimos have undergone, a continuity best explained in terms of incorporation: whereas missionaries and traders desired moral and economic incorporation, the newer institutions aim at incorporation that is broadly ideological (through education), national (through law and medicine), and finally political (through local government. . . . Gradually, even the Canadian Eastern Arctic, which for a long time was regarded as the last preserve of Eskimo life in anything like its traditional form, is in danger of becoming yet another empty suburb of the North American metropolis.[4]

One question remains: was it bureaucratically and mechanically applied carelessness, or was it subtle but systematic imperialism? Was "underdevelopment" planned to isolate a group of Inuit people even more from the mainstream of Canadian society than they were already, so as to quickly gain control over the resources at stake in that remote part of Canada's North?[5]

In Prophecy and Protest. Social Movements in 20th Century Canada, by Clark, Grayson and Grayson, an attempt is made toward innovative approach to Canadian history by looking at social change and social movements.

However, no movements amongst Canada's natives are included. It is a study of white man's history since his arrival on the Canadian scene. This leaves out the original inhabitants altogether. Harold Cardinal's Rebirth of Canada's Indians focusses on this missing perspective. By looking at the future of the Indians as a people, he brings out the social-movement dynamics and the potentially millenarian resources amongst the Indians who were slowly but systematically cut off from their own culture, native land and ancestor religion.

Examples of what the white metropolis means by development are too many to be discussed here. One striking case in Alberta comes to mind epitomizing what the power of technological development does to the powerless. The Big Horn Dam brought an artificially generated lake, located exactly where the local Indian tribe used to own their sacred grounds . . . Other provinces have brought about and are still planning similar technological developments destroying fast and ruthlessly whatever little is left of the native culture and land which originally formed an intricately balanced system of its own.

The rise and increasing militancy of Quebecois nationalism could be viewed as a belated revolt against centuries of metropolis manipulations. In almost all forms of nationalism there are millenarian overtones.[6] The CD facilitator should learn how to read the signs on the wall and to decipher the millenarian symptoms. He should never react in bewilderment or outrage, or even worse with ridicule or complete disregard. He should cooperate in conjunction with authentic progress made by the group in crisis. The most salient characteristic of any millenarian movement is that its emergency alarm system has been put to work, but not in accord with the goals and values of the group in power. In the colonial context, the government administrators frequently do not get the message. The alarm signals are over and again misinterpreted or even worse, ignored. Their belated interference was meant to turn the tide by force. But no force can bring a millenarian movement to a halt. It will go underground, disappear here and rise again over there, out of its own ashes, sooner or later. Often repression increases millenarian fervor. Jailing the leaders will add to their already impressive charisma. Dead leaders or leaders in absentia are perceived by the followers as the most powerful and efficient ones. They have acquired their halo because of their martyrdom.

Modern imperialism may be seen as a culmination of Western arrogance, as an ideology of superiority ad absurdum. Schumpeter wrote about imperialism as atavism and traced it back in historical perspective. He saw it as a persistent tendency to dominate, exploit and expand. The French term "mission civilisatrice" (English equivalent: "the cultural burden") became a powerful slogan in the 19th and 20th century drive for power and expansion far beyond France's own boundaries and deep into the continents of Africa and Asia. The term conveys in a poignant manner how the metropolis looked down upon those who had to be conquered.

Modern nationalism gave an extraordinary impetus to this fierce drive for expansionism. During the forceful process of colonization a wilful onslaught on a wide variety of indigenous cultures became the order of the day. In a much earlier period of missionary zeal, the medieval missionaries like Willebrord and Bonniface came to the Western European tribes to evangelize. They showed a deep understanding and great degree of tolerance towards these tribes and their persistent beliefs. They kept asking the Pope in Rome in their extensive correspondence what could be left intact of the old pagan rites. The papal answers allowed ample room for survival of heathen traditions, rites and beliefs. Compared to this early Christian tolerance, the 19th and 20th century forms of imperialistic "missionary zeal" are a far outcry. Political and economic imperatives by then outweighed all other motives.

It may be not only of academic interest to historians to ask when exactly did the western so-called Christian concept of the "rest" of the world change so drastically and negatively. The Crusades should be mentioned in this context as the onset of change discoloring the whole perspective on the non-Christian parts of the world. There were yet some millenarian dimensions in the crusading spirit too, but domineering was a strong western Christian supraordinate ideology: that the heathen who had conquered Christ's grave had to be driven out, defeated and removed from the earth. This medieval "civilizing calling" blindly assumed of course its own inherent superiority. Religion and politics were intricately interwoven in this missionary drive. The politico-religious canopy, encompassing all of societal reality was yet intact. The great drive for expansionism on a systematic scale of the 15th and 16th centuries could be viewed in a continuously changing perspective: increasingly missionary zeal became political.

Reasons which motivated the Portugese at the time of King Henry the Navigator to take the initiative in exploring the unknown world of Africa were elaborately expounded in Gomes Eannes de Azura's Chronicles. These drives appeared to be a beautifully blended mixture of myth and reality, of ideology and utopia. First, there was a strong desire to accomplish unusual and great deeds in service of both God and the King, and to be recorded for ever in the books of history by exploring the mysterious lands and peoples described in the wondrous stories of the medieval chronicles of Brandaen. Second, there was a wish to investigate whether those people in that fantastic new continent were Christian or not yet, so that one could establish fruitful trading relations with them without however endangering one's life and possessions. Third, it was desired to measure the size of that unknown continent in order to find out in detail how big the Muslim world really was. To know one's enemy's power and territory would become priceless information in the ongoing battle against the infidels. Fourth, the Portugese might find a new ally, equally Christian and willing to join in the fight under the Christian banner against the pagan aggressors. The Portugese had become disappointed in how little concrete support they were getting from the western so-called Christian allies. So why not find other allies in the new world? These new peoples could be converted to the Christian side which would make things more efficient for all parties. Fifth, according to leading astrological predictions, the timing and destination were just perfect.

Columbus took off in the same spirit: as a representative of the King of Spain and on behalf of God in his calling as a missionary, merchant and soldier to travel over the ocean and find access to the not yet fully known paradisical parts of the world. Wherever gold was going to be found, it would be put to immediate use to reconquer Jerusalem in the eternal battle with the infidels in the Holy Land. The pre-history of imperialism, the complex motivations for expansionism and the persistent theme of "mission civilisatrice" form a special field of investigation. It is very relevant for the pre-history of CD itself.

The cultural arrogance and nationalistic claims towards superiority became manifest in what has been termed "modern imperialism" of the last two centuries. Yet before such a disastrous turn was taken, a very different approach towards the outside world prevailed in the preceding period of the Enlightenment and Romanticism. In the late 17th and in the 18th century, the "savages" came to be looked up to as innately good, superior and enviable because of their mysterious cultures and close to nature habits of living. The western European search for the lost paradise was still on, as Henri Baudet describes in Het Paradys of Aarde.

These romanticising approaches towards cultures outside Europe were soon to be discarded with the onset of 19th century nationalism. The tide changed drastically. The mood became more arrogant towards non-European parts of the world. Their inhabitants had to be colonized and disciplined into the western harness of civilization.

Culmination of this sort of Western arrogance was expressed frequently in statements which exposed the new ideology.

> Africans were redeemable, but first evils within their own society had to be destroyed. Only then could the process of civilization building commence. Implicit was the replacement of traditional culture with something "higher", something new, something European. Clothe the savages, topple the pagan idols, silence the drumming, break up the extended family, encourage individualism, abolish polygamy: these are some of the elements of evangelical Christianity.[7]

a) The Jamaica Ras Tafaris: Millenialism and CD

The Ras Tafaris were chosen in this epilogue as a good illustration of what elements are typical for a millenarian movement (1). The Ras Tafaris are a fully developed religious counter movement and counter culture (2) and the case contains relevant elements of CD (3).

The outcome of the Ras Tafarian agitations for their revitalized self-image is most impressive. They came up with a complete and viable counter culture, a stimulating socio-cultural alternative to Jamaica's neocolonial surrogate and imitative mainstream culture. Moreover, they worked out amongst themselves a communal form of living which raised not only their socio-economic status but attracted fervent participants.

Their conversion process drastically changed their individual and collective identity from apathetic outcasts into proud believers and confident achievers. This was started first on a small scale in their own parochial group affairs by starting small co-ops in self-help. Since time memorial downtrodden Blacks in the ghettoes of Jamaica had been unemployed and classified as unemployable. They did not even make it onto the level of sugar cane stripping or banana picking, until fervent hopes raised by millenarian expectations lifted them out of their stagnation.

Because their original African heritage was yet so much alive through their own self-imposed "apartheid" from the oppressive mainstream society, they managed to generate a truly authentic and different sub-culture which proved to have widely appealing characteristics. These became pervasive in Jamaican society, and even converted Blacks outside Jamaica. What will be the future impact of the Black Muslim revitalized Arabic heritage is open to speculation. Comparatively, the Ras Tafari culture seems more authentic and indigenous. It has become an inspirational and motivational force in its own right that seems unlikely to peter out because the roots are strong and deep.

The Ras Tafaris stem from the same source as the Black Muslims: from Garvey and his fervently inspiring message "Back to Africa" as a basic human right and divinely ordained principle. The Ras Tafari movement has already gone through the whole sequence of millenarian stages. It culminated in a fully developed social movement pressuring for social changes, encompassing first the lower now even middle-class segments of society. By now, it has a wide impact not only in Jamaica, but outside the island.

Jamaican society proved to be fertile soil for millenarian development. All millenarian variables were present to a high degree: abrupt violent uprooting of masses of people, total systematic oppression and systematic efforts at eradicating the people's past and group pride, prolonged multiple deprivation, repetitive defeats such as slave revolts that failed. The rise of the Ras Tafaris, then, is symptomatic of the socio-cultural malaise suffered by the Blacks ever since they were forcefully removed from their homeland to this island of colonial profiteering.

When compared to the Black Muslims, the Ras Tafarian movement dramatizes the historical heritage the two movements have in common. They were both forced into chattel slavery and subordinated into an exploitive colonial system. The ruling elite had all the advantages in technological development and organizational administration on its side.

> Perhaps the most striking feature of the island during the first ninety years of British rule is the fact that it can only be described as . . . essentially a society of immigrants and transients . . . unlike the slave system of American South or the majority of the Iberian colonies, there was here no ruling class which, infused with the pioneer spirit, were committed to the social well-being and cultural development of their community . . . The sociological consequence was a shambled patchwork of social relationships, which, in its excessive commitment to the sole goal of quick profits, discarded all aspects of the social institutions that are generally considered as the basic prerequisites of a normal social life: marriage, the family, education, religion . . . [8]

Under these most oppressive conditions the various tribal backgrounds and multiplicity of languages and dialects severely hampered any form of community. Even communication was limited. Yet some kind of a common fabric was preserved by the slaves themselves, climaxing in their traditional trances and spiritual possession brought about in their ritual dances.

> . . . the religious dances were all the slaves had to remind them of their home . . . in their possession, surrendered to the old gods, for a

> short time they could feel themselves free once more. Where they could they came together to be near Africa . . . the more the slave owners suppressed and punished the dancers, the dearer, the more sacred did they become to the slaves . . . their religion became a sacred cult, the faithful became sworn brothers, their secret meetings became the cells of resistance.[9]

The two societies never became interwoven, they were put together only by brutal force. The slavemasters did not form a community, they only owned property in Jamaica to increase their prosperity. It was a system, not a society, based on absenteeism. As summarized by T. Nicholas:

> This is very real past of present Jamaican society which is a continuation of geographical arbitrariness artificially brought about by slave trade and ongoing system of exploitation.[10]

The Ras Tafaris proudly trace their own history back to the Maroons who kept revolting against the British for a long time, by evasive techniques skilfully applied in the mountainous inlands of Jamaica.[11] On the whole, the Maroons never lost their sense of independence and pride. They refused consistently to become incorporated into the British colonial system. They were true freedom fighters and managed to preserve much of their own unadulterated African heritage, especially so because they choose to withdraw into the hinterlands of Jamaica in self-imposed but creative isolation. British "modern" civilization up to now is fiercely rejected and up to the present the Maroons have been successful in keeping their own socio-cultural framework alive. The Ras Tafaris revitalized this Maroon heritage.

There are other differences between the Ras Tafaris and the Black Muslims. Eric Lincoln pinpointed some of them. Even though both the Blacks in Jamaica and in the deep American South could be defined as being in diaspora, yet the Jamaican preoccupation with recognition based on minute differences in color cannot be found in American society. Here the Blacks for a long time struggled to deny color differentiation. (This became one of the reasons that Marcus Garvey who had been socialized in the Jamaican concept of race and color, was not understood during his millenarian crusade in the U. S. A., because of his agitating for color differentiation.) Also, the Jamaican social system exposes its colonial background blatently by basing itself on a strong preference for anything British, copying features in a fastidious manner.

There is another basic difference in organization. The Ras Tafaris are far more acephalous in their organizational structure, whereas the Black Muslims became increasingly monolithic under strong unifying charismatic leaders like Mohammad Ali and Malcolm X. Consequently, the Ras Tafaris could be termed more millenarian because they show the high degree of flexibility and diversified creativity under their various leaders, so typical for a millenarian movement. As a matter of fact, they illustrate the characteristics which form the center piece in Gerlach Hine's model of religious counter movements.[12] The organizational structure is highly decentralized and segmented, to such a degree that several competing but not all mutually exclusive sub-units can be found thriving within the greater whole of the movement. Gerlach-Hine summarizes this phenomenon of being sub-divided in a web-like manner as "reticulation".

In the case of the Black Muslims, the local temples do not qualify as semi-independent sub-units. They are all directly subordinated to the central charismatic leadership. Yet the Black Muslims after the irreplaceable loss of their leader Malcolm X also became increasingly diversified in a true millenarian manner. Here Gerlach-Hine's analysis of such movements in a so-called "modern" society matches the conclusions reached by various experts in the field of millenialism in different parts of the third world: compare for example Worsley, Sundkler, Barrett, Burridge, Thrupp and Adas.

Precisely because of the high degree of decentralization, a complex variety of pre-existing ties and networks can be accommodated in the same movement. This web-like structure tolerates various intergroup linkages. New and old networks may be assimilated without being systematically interwoven. Yet the whole will somehow encompass all cells.[13]

The Ras Tafaris originated as a cluster of cults mushrooming amongst the most deprived and alienated Blacks on Jamaica after centuries of slavery. The 1930's was a decade of despair and disorientation. The onset of a series of socio-economic and natural disasters hit these disenfranchised segments of the population the hardest. Violent outbursts of labor troubles and unrest in general became the order of the day. Ex-Garveyites could nurture their persistent sense of anomie by joining the new cults spreading like bush fire. Ras Tafari subgroups were a true continuation and reorganization of the Marcus Garvey movement. The echoes of his fervent message were still hanging around in the streets and marketplaces. His charisma was still on people's minds.[14]

What worked as a remarkably powerful catalyst was a remote event: the coronation of a prince named Ras Tafari as king of Ethiopia. This event seemed to have grandiose and mysterious proportions in the eye of the true believer: an Old Testament prophesy was suddenly fulfilled, Psalm 68:32. The millenarian spirit was rejuvenated all over Jamaica's slums. It stimulated greatly the Jamaican Blacks to update and intensify their biblical readings and to fit purposely selected verses--out of the biblical context--into this one particular event. In this manner the original prophesy gained a deeply meaningful and exciting perspective for the fervent followers.

At about the same time in New York City--in 1937--the Ethiopian World Federation was started with similar millenarian aims. This closely related organization also became active in Jamaica, from 1938 on. God-ordained self-determination for the oppressed was spelled out in the banners of both movements.[15]

The Emperor was continuously hailed as God incarnate and as Savior of all Blacks who would join. Hatred for the white race was preached from the street corners. Consequently, the government became alarmed and claimed the whole set-up was a subversive conspiracy. All three leaders were arrested but again released after some time.

New small Ras Tafari communities were crystallizing and became a thorn in the flesh of government authorities, especially the one in Back 'o Wall (or Shanty Town in Kingston). Violent crack downs followed and for a long period, 1947-57, the cult went underground but only partially. Then it openly and victoriously surfaced again as a fully developed movement. The Ras Tafaris were feared and stereotyped by the class in power as dangerous madmen prone to any form of violence. Yet the same madmen were admired and respected in ever widening circles. Because the impact on the total Jamaican society was one of a strongly defiant nature, it was the government that was put under pressure.

From having been cornered and suppressed by government and police at first, now the Ras Tafaris in turn exerted pressure on the power structure itself. Roles and techniques became somewhat reversed. The Ras Tafari cells had become coordinated in the meantime and the whole movement gained momentum and power. By the mid-1950's, the Ethiopian World Federation had given great stimulus to the movement. A successful convention had been organized by the Ras Tafaris themselves. Over and again the police reacted violently, raiding meetings, branches and Ras Tafari camps.

Professor Lewis of the University of Jamaica warned clearly in 1959 that socio-economic neglect caused whole segments of the population to become enraged. His warnings fell upon deaf ears. Riots and clashes increased.[16] Police moved in to suppress what was called overt subversion. However, once again the heat was taken off temporarily and this time a university team of investigators was called in. The outcome of their academic report was most informative, reassuring and practical. This report could almost be seen as a community survey done in CD spirit.[17]

The recommendations made were intended to generate understanding, even respect for the whole movement: (1) send a mission to Africa to investigate immigration; some Ras Tafarian representatives should form part of this; (2) The government in Jamaica should start immediate negotiations with the Ras Tafaris to prepare for the trip. (3) There should be an official recognition that the movement's basic aims were peaceful. (4) All police harassment should be stopped since Ras Tafaris were good citizens. (5) Low-rent housing projects should be started and other self-help schemes to accommodate the basic needs of the cult members. (6) This should include basic facilities like water, light, sewerage and garbage collection. (7) Vocational education centers should be provided with youth recreation programs and child care centers, medical clinics, etc. (8) The Ethiopian Orthodox Coptic Church should be invited to initiate a branch in Jamaica. (9) Co-operative workshops should be set up. (10) The whole movement should receive decent and fair media coverage.[18]

The government did take some notice of this report. A fact-finding mission was sent out, but the African countries visited insisted on skilled artisans only as future immigrants. Yet the Ras Tafaris took great pride in having been part of the mission and the brethren who participated were called ambassadors ever since.

The Africa project was gradually and quietly discarded by the government. The intensity of the Ras Tafari search for a homeland did not abate at all, even in the face of repeated disconfirmation. The Emperor and his Ethiopian empire remained the focus of imminent paradisical reality for the fervent believers. As Festinger et al. show with regard to a small persistent millenarian group in the U. S. A.: when prophesy fails, the millenarian spirit increases.[19]

Haile Selassie did visit Jamaica in 1966 and was instantly hailed as the Savior-King. His crowning back in 1938 had mysteriously signified the beginning of redemption for all Blacks in Jamaica in their accelerated vision of a better future just waiting around the corner. However the emperor appeared unaware and totally unprepared for the vibrant myth woven around him and his kingdom by the enormous crowds feverishly waiting for him at the airport.[20]

The average Ras Tafari member cound not be disillusioned by any disturbing fact. The millenarian enthusiasm kept its high peak, even though the Emperor did not give any sign of truly being God incarnate. The source of group identification--exotic and absurd to the non-believers--proved to be everlasting inspiration: it worked as a catalyst for group mobilization. It crystallized into CD run on its own group resources. The religious identification with Ethiopia generated unusually powerful social dynamics. The repatriation and redemption myth--outlandish and alarming to the outsider--proved to transform the insiders from an amorphe groupless mass of outcasts into a new extremely conscious "class", yet transcending traditional local class boundaries. The previous disenfranchised now proclaimed they had been preordained to a great heritage that was lost after centuries of oppression.

Here I wish to focus on specific CD aspects that appear so convincing that I recommend millenialism as a priority in CD research projects. The Ras Tafari abstract myth of imminent redemption and the simultaneous every-day practice of de-Jamaicanization of life for all individual group members are intricately interwoven. The mythical identification may seem shallow and irrelevant to the outsider. For the believing insider, this myth is a powerful and profoundly motivational drive. In the innovative perspective gained by the reborn self, Jamaica and its every-day misery is temporary Hell now, but Ethiopia is Heaven on Earth soon and forever. The White man's time and power machine are running lower and lower each day. Ras Tafaris profess and proved repeatedly that they never want to be part of the West and its corrupt system of technology--a wicked technocracy that can only hasten its own doom and decay.

There is much fundamental truth in the powerful Ras Tafarian critique of western advanced technology and its doomed society. Their prophetic attack on western civilization depicts it all as on its way down. A highly technologically developed system is digging its own grave --if there is any soil left on the earth by the time the white man has fully finished himself and his surroundings --after his senseless productive system has come to a haltering stop in an abyss of pollution.

The Ras Tafari attack on all things white is far more devastating and systematic than the Black Muslim one, although again both movements are deeply related in their basic dogma: that all Black men are superior to the white men and his doomsday productivity. In contrast to the devilish white man and the hellish conditions he has conjured up by his witchcraft--his wicked technological miracles and magic tricks--the Black men are the truly reincarnated Israelites.[21] And it is up to the invincible Emperor to arrange for impending repatriation of the elected from their exile in foreign parts. Maybe just a bit more time and opportunity will yet be granted to the white man to change his devilish intention. However time is running out almighty fast.

In a concluding chapter Soul Triumphing: A Return to the Roots at Home and Abroad, Leonard Barrett gives a penetrating analysis of the social dynamics of counter-movements based on the millenarian catalyst.[22] Barrett pinpoints some of the essential characteristics of millenarian movements: how they develop from collective restlessness into concerted action and steer the believers into exerting pressure on the group in power. In his interpretation they are first of all cults of revolution.[23] The religious fervor enables the group wrapped in semi-mythical, semi-realistic images to conjure up strong imagery into real power. The group fantasies have intensified into political games for real. Collective witchcraft played up in strong imageries may drastically add to the group aggressiveness. The next step may be that the same group starts "cultural judo", i. e. a sophisticated technique to keep the opposition guessing what the group is up to. Because there are various leaders and not just one, one or more segments of the whole movement are always taking the lead in an unexpected manner. This will assure the movement of enormous tactical advantages and endless resourcefullness.

I wish to emphasize here that the millenarian group is not just preoccupied with its own collective transcendental salvation. The attacks on the oppressors are well focussed and the whole new salvation myth is built on the basic dogma of imminent redemption. This last term implies that a definitive punishment will be meted out to the transgressors soon. Redemption is a final and judicial process that will bring about drastic changes in the whole political system, based on true justice and equality. Theologians differentiate clearly between the concept of salvation as an individually centered belief[24] and the concept of redemption which implies an abrupt overthrow of the present power system.

Brian Wilson analysed both concepts of salvation and redemption in historical perspective, and came up with a typology based on four dimensions: collective, individual, transcendental salvationist, and imminent salvationist. Cults, sects, churches and a whole complex variety of religiously focussed movements can be categorized according to two of the four dimensions.

Most millenarian movements do not fit in this perspective because of being collectively, transcendentally and imminently directed. The Ras Tafaris express their being directed horizontally and vertically and communally at any given moment in their langue which uses no ordinary sentence construction but a reduced syntax, simplifying but at the same time dramatizing the constant tension between the tangible present and imminent future already manifest in the here and now. Every simple statement about the present reality only gains meaning because of the futuristic context every human feeling and acting is put in. There is no concept of "I". The Ras Tafarian Brethren truly express at all times that every action, every single member is part and parcel of a greater universe. Time is linear; all human action is communal, goal-directed. All members are already at this very instance participating in eternity since the prophecy was fulfilled: God incarnate in Haile Selassie. Consequently the Brethren cannot believe in individual death having any impact at all. Redeemed collective life goes on forever for the true believer.

The Ras Tafaris and Black Muslims are an outcry of deep despair and utter frustration against the persistent lack of equality. To generalize on this aspect: certain millenarian movements can be looked at as symptomatic for acculturation as a fait accompli whereas at the same time there is no progress whatsoever in real equality. The outer appearances of assimilation are visibly there, but the previous outcasts remain second class citizens.[25]

In some other parts of the Caribbean the Blacks may have adopted values rather similar to those of the privileged class. Yet the ghetto inhabitants are excluded from the system in multiple manners because the blatant difference in status prevents them from realizing the values they adopted so eagerly, almost fastidiously and slavishly, because the values were forced upon them by the metropolis, its overpowering productive system and its powerful advertising mechanism. What blocks full assimilation is not to be found within the subgroup but within the dominant group which closes ranks to exclude permanently the subordinate group. The real barrier is imposed by the white upper class which keeps saying: "do become civilized the way we are". However in most societies sub-groups having absorbed the values and orientation of the dominant group are met with impassable barriers as soon as they seriously try to be admitted into the mainstream. Then revitalization movements may spring up out of total frustration.

An oppressed group may rename itself after a glorified past to draw strength from a collectively imagined historical heritage. Harold Isaacs points out in his study with the evocative title, Idols of the Tribe, how strong the urge is felt by any societal group to call itself by a new deeply appealing name, very deliberately chosen to conjure up a whole series of glorious events and features the group proudly identify itself with. Also the new name and myth are selected to demand respect, even awe from the oppressors and, of course, to bolster one's own morale. However, the very fact that an exotic name is chosen does not mean automatically that the group rejects assimilation forever. The more extravagant the names chosen and the more exotic the parts of the world--i. e. the lost fatherland or parts thereof--the group claims for immediate repossession, the stronger may be the desire to be assimilated into the mainstream society. Repatriation --absurd and outlandish as it may sound to the group well entrenched in its power--is being claimed as a divine right. Yet all that the rejected may really want is full acceptance, overdue status and a good life like that enjoyed so abundantly by the others. All this highlights the over-development versus under-development syndrome.

Of all millenarian movements so far discussed, it appears that the Ras Tafari movement falls into a category almost all by itself. The members categorically refuse assimilation. The Ras Tafari philosophy seems to have become a permanent viable alternative, a force to reckon with.

Of course, most societies do not know at all how to cope with such a movement. They lack completely the necessary basic flexibility. Above all, they fail to understand what makes such a movement arise. Eric Lincoln has expressed himself in a very pessimistic manner about the impact of any such movement on the greater society.[26] In his view, any power system is invariably set into motion according to rules of self-centered interests for the ruling classes exclusively. The outrage and resentment accumulated over long periods of time, during many generations is so deep-seated that both sides are set on a collision course which will prove self-destructive.

> When these powers fail to respond because they cannot--having been in effect automated by reciprocating systems of relationships which exclude the interests of the poor and the weak--the social mechanism has become an automator programmed for its own destruction.[27]

According to Lincoln, a millenarian movement may not be able to change the direction taken by the total society until after a disastrous clash has broken out. However, the main thrust of Barrett's penetrating book appears that Black counter-movements, especially the counter-cultures with strong millenarian dimensions are already having a tremendous impact on the wider society and have initiated drastic changes for the "wretched of the earth" themselves, who are religiously

--on a sacred level--and zealously--in secular manners--engaged in their own emancipation.

In sequential chapters, titled in highly evocative manners, Barrett puts all these Black movements on the map of world history: they are not isolated, unrelated instances of Black protest and revolt, just at random scattered here and there. They form together a world --with revitalization movement which impact is spilling over traditional boundaries of class and nation: Soul-Force, Source of Soul, Soul in Captivity, Soul Under Stress, Soul Awakening, Soul Asserting Itself, Soul Triumphing: A Return to the Roots at Home and Abroad. Barrett accomplishes in this ground-breaking study on the Ras Tafaris what was not yet done for the Black Muslims. He summarizes in a nutshell the whole millenarian phenomenon, solely focussing of course on the Caribbean world, not tracing the development of similar movements so well researched in European medieval and early modern history and in the Third World. Yet he encapsules the basic ingredients and causal variables of millenialism extremely well, and then manages to depict the Ras Tafari phenomenon in its own historical, cross-cultural context; as a truly African millenarian movement with unusually wide and powerful repercussions, outside Jamaica, even outside the Caribbean area.

The outcry poured over the white man and his corrupt system is most colorfully and bitterly expressed in the Ras Tafari counter-ideology. The white man is depicted as just an automatic appendix fixed onto the technology he has called into life himself. But now, let loose on its own, this technology has turned into an independent monster seeking the destruction of humanity, driven by its own uncontrolable forces.

> Western men are guided by their intelligence, and that is where their intelligence reaches. They have no divine qualities, no divine inspiration. They go by selective concepts. They have no spiritual diagnosis. They go by A, B, C. They have no divine function. No divine principle. You have black men, too, like that, you know, who are the carbon copy of his slave master. Like a roast breadfruit. You have seen a roast breadfruit? White on the inside, black on the outside.[28]

During the so-called development of the western world, the white man has proved to possess no feelings, no concern whatsoever. He only expresses his mechanically scientific approaches to all objects and persons. The deceitful tricks he plays in his technological pursuits are typical for a man who has frighteningly transformed himself into a robot: i. e. without a human soul. (Compare Kafka's collection of related deeply symbolic stories about horrifying transformations occurring in existential reality of man: Metamorphosis. Especially the story in which a young man existing in his room has turned abruptly and mysteriously into some kind of monstrous crawling animal.)

While trying to absorb the Ras Tafarian utter disgust and great impatience with the white man's "civilization"--all emphatically expressed in this myth woven around the Black Man and his pure unadulterated ways of living and based on his own tremendous "Soul-Force"--the equally vehement Machiavellian attack on man and his society comes to mind. It was in his exuberant but profoundly critical and bittersweet play, La Mandragola, that Machiavelli ventilated his societal critique; his utter disgust at the society of his time and the men in power exploiting all the others to the point of making the powerless into manipulated puppets.[29]

In a similar manner, Erasmus, the other outspoken critic of that same period, depicted the depraved minds and mechanisms of the men in powerful Church positions, using their God-ordained seats to pursue their own corrupted interests. Erasmus in his witty and powerful book Laus Stultitiae (In Praise of Folly) calls up a human world that has turned itself upside down by pursuing its own destruction and by transforming the sacred values it preaches so beautifully into monstrous vices it practices systematically.

"In Praise of Folly" is also the alarming message about the west and its value system turned upside down, repeated by the Ras Tafari Brethren: anti-British, anti-American, anti-colonial, anti whatever force or influence happens to operate and manipulate as a metropolis. CIA agents and Billy Graham messengers are all put into the same category of western hypocracy and exploitation. The Ras Tafari counter-ideology has reached its highest pitch of moral indignation about the west. In the Ras Tafari Weltanschauung the "mission civilisatrice" has become an ugly force.

> I and I utter words, and it manifests. All that I and I do is to project a life that is higher than the Christians. For Christian life, Christianity is a profiteering organization. When Billy Graham, the C. I. A., on pulpit, the preaching of the gospel is over. I and I just project a life, and who want to follow, follow it. Man see it and say, the life that man living, each and everyone shall live that life. Him say "I want to be a Rasta", and him start to follow after I. It's just the life that they seen, showing the true pathway to life everything. If I and I stumble or fall, slip or slide, him slide too.[30]

b) On Different Forms of Consciousness Amongst Groups in Stagnation

Marx wrote about the lack of class consciousness amongst the French peasants of his own time. They were in his view unrelated, uncoordinated, just as potatoes in a bag, as Marx succinctly put it. They formed no good material for preparing any form of revolution or change.

Research on millenarian movements as an ongoing societal phenomenon may lead to better understanding of concepts like the rise, presence or absence of class consciousness, and it may question the validity of the concept of poverty altogether. Ossowski, the Polish Marxian-inspired philosopher and social scientist, puts the concept of class consciousness in historical perspective, going far beyond the boundaries of time and place as Marx had set out for his own thinking. His rather neglected study Class Structure in the Social Consciousness (1963, Routhelegean Kegan Paul) centers in comparative analysis of different societies in history, wherein societal groups ars arranged in a certain order. The crux of the matter of class consciousness is to define how individuals and groups perceive the position they are located in. For a long time, societies could be conceived of as heirarchically arranged systems, as organizational ladders on which groups were assigned fixed places and individuals played their prescribed roles. Only when the "have nots" were diametrically opposed against the "haves" in a dichotomous manner, the central allocative system of power and reward would be questioned and attacked. Many societies of the past were symbiotic or stagnant: social dynamics were non-existing.

In the long history of Russian chiliasm there is a persistent theme: the dramatic twin cosmology of the children of light who are continuously engaged in a battle--a deadly cosmic struggle--against the children of dark.[31] In all Russian millenarian movements this fight is carried out collectively on a spiritual plane, but simultaneously on an economic and political plane. At times the followers were driven into excessive behavior and would commit communal suicide. These instances of collective masochism and self-imposed disaster were not isolated but formed a returning pattern, embedded in the Russian tradition of revolt. (Compare contemporary case of Jonestown massacre as a single isolated instance of communal suicide, exposing the same conversion mechanisms in a one man's cult.) Along this same historical perspective, Bolshevism eventually was the one movement--amongst many competing revolutionary messianic ones--which became concretely successful by capturing the power structure. Ossowski looks at Persian history from a similar dualistic perspective as expressed symbolically in its own religious ideology: the forces of light fighting against the ones of darkness. Such a dynamic religious conflict ideology can assume concrete societal reality at certain stages of history. It can give impetus to a socio-political movement for revolutionary change.

Peter Lloyd also elaborates on the theme of class awareness in his thought-provoking study Slums of Hope: Shanty Towns of the Third World. Based on excellent sociological, anthropological and historical material--condensed from complex related theories--he tries to build up a cognitive map of the social actor's world and his view of the society he has moved into out of despair. How does the individual actor perceive his position? For example: what does the migrant laborer carry along in his bag, in his socio-cultural heritage that makes him survive as a human being in the shanty town he has moved to or more often was forced to move to? Does he have access yet to a meaningful ideology that provides him with an explanation for the bottom end position he is in as a squatter? Frequently social scientists have routinely described these shanty towns as lacking in any form of collective consciousness.

Oscar Lewis built his famous culture of poverty on the following view: a sub-culture with mostly negative characteristics. He laid bare in an alarming manner the very substrata of subhuman living, the symptoms of a permanent social disease: POVERTY. This illness of being underdeveloped was contagious and epidemic among certain segments of the population and in certain parts of the world. Its germs were almost genetically predetermined; the symptoms were passed on from one generation to the next. Consequently it now appeared that recurrent patterns of this disabling disease "underdevelopment" were so all-pervasive and crippling to the patients that a patchwork approach would not do the patients any good.[32]

Basic interpretations of this concept of poverty could be summarized as: total despair, continuous frustration and permanent apathy. As elaborated both in theoretical and practical analyses by various social scientists dealing with poverty, poor people are depressed and passive, and feel powerless because they have never conceived of themselves as possessing any form of power, influence or effectiveness. Everyday life is harsh and miserable and one is born and socialized into this vicious circle (see Lewis, Haggstrom). It is not until this cycle has been broken through at least once by perhaps some form of minor change--brought about by the people themselves--that they become aware of their own strength, dignity and power. During this crucial happening they may suddenly gain some beginning of positive self image and group identity. They have become conscious human beings, entitled to certain basic rights they had never conceived of before.

In the normal cycle of poverty there is only the depressing monotony of subsistence-level living, an ongoing misery and drudgery (as Lewis terms it: "iron entrenchment of lifeways"). There are no social dynamics. Life is an endlessly depressing condition carried over from one generation to the next, from day to day. There is no point in projecting towards a future because the present is as bad as the past has always been. There is no glimmering of hope, no time-perspective, no dimension of past nor future. Poor depressed people hardly have a sense of history because events have no meaning for them beyond the monotonous monochrome pattern of daily miseries.

All this is supposed to be especially applicable to poor people left out of the mainstream of a more developed industrialized total society. People in a traditional society may yet show a high positive degree of "conscience collective" in the Durkheimian meaning. Lewis termed this poverty syndrome a subculture itself, and showed enormous empathy by analysing its various dimensions. (Others have contested the concept of a poverty subculture by defining it as more of a temporary condition, a time-and-place bound reaction to patterns of subsistence living, expressing itself in a variety of behavioral patterns.[33])

Especially for CD, the concept of poverty remains an illusive assumption because it does not let itself be easily transferred from one into another culture; different local situations may have to be defined on their own terms. How to raise whatever form of consciousness amongst people caught in this so-called cycle of poverty is a moot question.

The case of Montegrano comes to mind--an imaginary village of South Italian peasants--as reported on by Edward Banfield in his well-known study The Moral Basis of a Backward Society (Chicago, 1958). This village or region is a case of poverty all by itself: puzzling in its complexity, and challenging most standard theories of poverty.

Montegrano is no community at all because of the total lack of community spirit, no sense of group belonging whatsoever and the frightening reign of what Banfield terms "amoral familialism". There is no class system to speak of in regular terms, although at the same time Banfield calls attention to an elaborate static frame: some sort of social stratification which appears ossified. However there are no social dynamics. No change, no movements, no crystallization in any degree of class consciousness, groupness, sharedness empathy.

There is a complex status differentiation but mostly between town and country people. Status depends solely on the appropriate town and the not very appropriate country manners. The males, especially, are very much preoccupied with their status which is to be derived from true mannerism. A strictly Marxist model and mechanical interpretation, based on class antagonism and crystallization of the Revolution would not explain the situation in Montegrano. Although all these factors --class, status, poverty, underdevelopment, ignorance, lack of social mobility, apathy and despair are parts of the causal background, they don't explain the total behavioral pattern which is fatalism, pessimism, cynicism and extremes in mutual suspicion. The peasants are desperately poor, underdeveloped, apathetic but even in case of repetitive disasters and humiliating defeats, any beginning form of millenialism seems far out. Actually the long painful history of how more and more of the small peasants' plots were further and further sub-divided--consequently increasing the existing poverty into extremes of hardship and despair does not offer a parallel to other cases of millenarian outbursts or revolts. The total lack of "conscience collective" is appalling. Any prospective CD facilitator should study this case twice or more before stumbling into the field itself. Where--on which level and how--would one start raising consciousness among the Montegranese? They all seem so frantic and familistic in their daily ruthless struggle to monopolize narrow family interests only--applying truly Machiavellian manipulative tactics without any consideration for communal concerns, without any notion of community spirit, that each nuclear family wages a total war of suspicion, aggression and harassment on all fronts, against all surrounding neighbours, Moreover, there is no millenarian tradition to speak of in this specific region of Italy in contrary to the well-known persistent millenarian tradition among the "Lazarretti" in Toscany and Umbria, dating back to the middle of the 19th century and yet up to very recently well and alive among some peasants.

In contrast to Banfield's analysis, the main theme of Peter Lloyd's innovative study is to show how shanty town inhabitants do have their own conscience collective. They do not live in a socio-cultural vacuum. They are organized, related, maybe even coordinated on their own terms, i. e. not according to middle class standards and norms. His chapters on Poverty, The Actor's View of his Society, Communities of Origin and The Migratory Process contain theoretical material that is very relevant to CD. Theoretical problems generated by the ambiguous concept of poverty remain manifold. Peter Lloyd--by focussing on clusters of poor migrants who became squatters in shanty towns--attempted to re-direct the research on poverty on a new track: on individuals and groups who store accumulative experiences of past and present. The theme of Lloyd's study also ties in with our focus on millenarian movements and where and when such movements are most likely to arise. It leads into the theme of spiritual resilience and constant search for group identity amongst all classes and all sorts of human groups. Culture is not a stagnant heritage. It is being revitalized and put to use to enable communities of people to live humanly, to project their own lives.

To return to our focus on Black ghettoes, Melvin D. Williams (in an earlier study Community in a Black Pentecostal Church, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1974) uses anthropological, sociological and historical methods combined to describe the social relations amongst the Black migrants and their offspring in the northern city of Pittsburgh. His very profound research centers on the intensity of community consciousness amongst these most despised ghetto inhabitants. Kenneth Clark had focussed on the social dynamics in his Dark Ghetto, transcending in a most convincing manner the assumptions on which Oscar Lewis' theory of poverty was built.

Melvin Williams adds enormously to our understanding of any Black ghetto by zeroing in on the autonomous intensity of the feelings of belonging, the strong dynamic urge to identify with whatever is left or can be revitalized of the cultural heritage of the Black South. Above all, he highlights the spiritual resilience gained during this collective search for being reborn. The members of this Zionist Holiness Church--itself of course a pseudonym like Montegrano--proudly share their Pentecostal beliefs which enable them to stand up as people in their own group, not as underdogs. After the recent pilgrimage from the South to the North, the Promised Land--they ended up at the bottom end of the societal ladder. This ghetto church in its all encompassing aspects of communal living becomes a counterculture itself with the strength of a Gemeinschaft, a local movement that holds these lowest class people together in an accelerating joyful collective identity in the midst of economic misery and socio-political alienation from the mainstream society. These fervent believers should not be routinely categorized as sharing the so-called culture of poverty; they profess strong positive beliefs about themselves and their church-based world. They came across as confident bearers of a vibrant culture, but mostly within the boundaries of their beloved church community. For the rest they remain as alienated as ever from the outer world: from the harsh surrounding ghetto reality and from the oppressive total society. However even under these extreme apartness conditions forced on them by the metropolis:

> They embody the stuff of community. They reinforce, identify and conceptualize in terms of images of whom that community represents. Thus, their communicative code, full of references to food, farm, the rural landscape, human anatomy, animals, death, the physical world, and the supernatural, contains messages and it is indicative of a system of symbolic expression that validates and identifies these southern Black rural peasant migrants apart from the wider society.[34]
>
> When one commits oneself to this "despised few", as they call themselves, he has established a looking-glass self that defies anything but total commitment to Zion. . . . Zion is a religious organization, a human community, a Black group in a Black urban ghetto, and a Black response to the world wide human phenomenon of urbanization. (See Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958, for a Polish response . . .)[35]

Zion is a shelter and base for the poor Blacks from the South, not only guaranteeing a transcendental kingdom but also providing a place here and now.

> . . . a quest for status, power, recognition, prestige and money. This quest is continuous in spite of the ideology in Zion that discounts all such achievements.[36]

Ideology as a term and concept was invented by an obscure 18th century French philosopher by the name of Destutt de Tracy who wanted to find a logical term for a newly developed set of ideas or theory. It became a slogan for declaring war and justifying aggressive action and exploitation. Napoleon was the first to use it consistently and loudly, accusing the enemy of its bad intentions. Marx termed it "illusions", false consciousness. Mannheim systematically analysed ideology from the sociological perspective as a social set of illusions blending all human parties and groups and wrapping them up in their own biased misconceptions. (R. Sterling, Macropolitics, pp. 158-161.)

When a millenarian movement arises, it is the seismological registration of oppression, hurt feelings, resentment, degree of institutionalized racism: in short, symptomatic for the strength of the ideology of the group in power. For that matter, South Africa and the U. S. A. are quite comparable.[37] Up to this very moment South Africa is a hot seed bed of millenarian movements, multiplying themsleves in ever ongoing new renewal and schism movements. This has been so now for decades, starting already before the Nationalists came into power in 1948. The white power ideology deliberately and systematically cut off Blacks from the mainstream of society, increasingly so since apartheid legislation was introduced starting in 1948. The Blacks were declared landless, powerless, slave workers, the haulers of water and cutters of wood, by law banned from participating in White democracy. When analysing the American White power establishment, the degree of oppression--though considerably less--is to some degree based on similar ideological assumptions and socio-political mechanisms.

However, not just these countries should be singled out for having this type of structure. Australia systematically closed its doors for colored immigrants, and presently democratic Western European countries treat their foreign "guest workers" as appendixes to the economic system: as slaves who have no human nor civil rights whatsoever. Excesses of jealously exclusive nationalistic policies are looming large on the horizon of all so-called modern national states, Canada as a whole and its provinces on their own are no exceptions.

It is out of the impressive interdisciplinary and very recent research on nativistic and millenarian movements, specifically on the type termed "independent church movements" that innovative methodologies are being introduced and new theoretical insight is gained. A few leading analysts and their research should be mentioned here to conclude the epilogue and show how this very new sub-field in social scientific research--millenarian movements or more generally on religiously inspired movements for whatever type of changes--could have an enormously stimulating impact on CD ground-breaking and eye-opening. This could widen the horizon of the traditionally oriented interpreters of community, and it could put the dimension "development" on an exciting new plateau, as a movement for individual and group emancipation, comparable to the Renaissance and the Reformation. This again may lead to a "revitalization" and reinterpretation of Weber's Protestant Ethic itself.

It is fascinating to point out here that some of the most revealing and radical research in this whole field of African "religious independent movements" was undertaken by ex-missionaries who became "converted" into sociologists and anthropologists and theorists. Bengt Sundkler is the most striking example of such a "conversion": it implied far more than a change in career. It was above all a change in spirit, attitude and ideology. His seminal studies on millenialism--as manifest in the independent churches movements mushrooming all over the White Republic of South Africa and its dependent territories like, for instance, Swaziland--are comparable to the monographs so differently treating the same community in Mexico--Tepotzlan, done first by Redfield and later by Lewis. Sundkler too revisited the same area of his first investigation, and his second interpretation became rather different. Indeed, in his first study Bantu Prophets (1961) he seems to emphasize more the reactionary dimensions in the local so-called Zionist and Ethiopian Church movements. In his second study, Zulu Zionism (1976) he treats the same revitalized rituals from an innovative perspective. He points out how the impact of nativism and millenialism has an enormously radicalizing impact on the individual, how these movements under religious cloak contain tremendous revolutionary potentialities to emancipate the engaged individual and the whole collectivity.

> . . . in segregated chlorocratic society of South Africa separate churches became outlets for pent-up frustrations: reaction to conquest. . . . The endless series of new segregated Bantu sects could be explained as an after effect of rigid segregated white societal system and of the denominationally segmentized white missionary action. Bantu churches are logical answers to white segregation policy.[38]

These schismatic movements then, opened up new avenues, maybe not yet for authentic political expression, but at least as an outlet for nativistic nationalistic feelings to crystallize. In some ways, they were reactionary. In other ways, though, they functioned as a pre-political training school for later more outspoken political activities. Is it on the whole then a forward or backward movement? "Syncretistic sect becomes a bridge over which Africans are brought back to heathenism." However, it is also "a symptom of awakening of Bantu race".[39] These Bantu churches were a stage for crystallizing native leadership to prove itself, for budding prophets to captivate a ready audience.

> . . . Leadership problems became of primary importance, especially for Bantus who stress rank

> . . . Strong inherent leadership qualities will express themselves in utopian movements.[40]

While the movement was linked to the Bantu concept of a tribally ranked society, it blended in with the authentic tradition of authority. But it was a new transformed authority emancipating its followers because of its revolutionary recomposing of old and new elements in an apocalyptic religious and radical program for the poor who, in the whole conversion process, had been made aware of their own individuality and their own racial identity in a novel, exciting and deeply stimulating manner.

> In the South African of apartheid and legally condoned radical discrimination, the problem of personal identity and the meaning of "hominisation"--to use Teilhard de Chardin's term--takes on a fundamental urgency for both Black and White. What has White South Africa, as a people, not lost by discarding the enormous personal resources of their great African contemporaries! . . . To the distant onlooker, the loud and lively Zion worship seemed like an escape into Utopia. Yet, at least in some of these men and women something had happened--and happened through Zion--which made them more prepared for the next phase and stage in the struggle for liberation of man. There was a new realization of selfhood and worthy identity in these men and women because of their discovery, in and with Zion, of the richness and relevance of their own religious and cultural expressions. This led some of them to readiness for cultural creativity and social involvement which in any society must be given high priority.[41]

Similarly, L. Freire's Pedagogics of the Oppressed, accelerating feelings, an intense sense of being liberated as a human being,[42] a truly Renaissance spirit seems to emanate from his dramatic reporting on how the Brasilian farmers are reaching the state of authentic human consciousness for the first time in their lives. Freire is propagating a revolution of how to become human like the "early" Marx in his humanistic writings when he described how the free man--in the new society after the final revolution--can spend his day freely following his own creativity and working in a truly natural human way, liberated from machines, routine and capitalistic oppression. Freire's interpretation of revolution is not violent nor utopian--millenarian, but his revolution of the individual and collective personality is truly emancipatory without retrogressing into a remote idealized past, without unrealistic visionary projections into a supernatural future. Yet the sacred canopy revitalized by and during the millenarian movement may bring about a "secular millennium" of authentic, fully liberated humanism in the individual believers and their socio-political reality in which they are now far more consciously participating.

Like Sundkler, a missionary who turned into a sociologist, David Barrett (in Schism and Renewal in Africa, 1977) surveyed 6,000 nativistic movements using a complex set of socio-economic, cultural and religious variables. Three thousand of these occurred in the Republic of South Africa alone. The theoretical outcome of his in-depth analysis of African indigeneous movements is that after the initial impact of more or less controlled acculturation, suddenly some years or decades later, there follows a deep clash--when the Africans discover the discrepancies between the white man's message and his actions. This violent indignation is generated by the time the Africans are able to read the biblical message in their own vernacular. Barrett calls this point in time crucial: the crystallization moment which he terms "the tribal Zeitgeist". Then a sufficient degree of intolerance and deep awareness has been reached; it is the boiling point for secession movements to start formenting. The Africans discover their own direct access to the biblical morals and they want to regain indirect tribal-based control over their own affairs. Barrett's findings show that especially there where a multiplicity of competing Protestant missionaries had been at work and where the original ancestor cult was strong, millenarian movements would arise as soon as the New Testament translations in tribal languages were given out. Then the Black anti-ideology started crystallizing.

Stanley Barrett in The Rise and Fall of an African Utopia: A Wealthy Theocracy in Comparative Perspective, elaborates on the question who would be the more suitable interpretors of these religiously inspired movements for change: theologians or social scientists who would come up with more profound explanations in the spirit of Weber's "verstehen"? To me, it seems the more interdisciplinary this field becomes, the richer our understanding may grow. Sundkler, because of his wide practical experience in the whole field of South African church movements, did not end up as a so-called "neutrally" observing sociologist. He remained first of all a participant himself, capable of having a deep sincere empathy with the people, their beliefs and rituals, he was studying. Another theologian, H. W. Turner, who became a leading contributor in this field of African Church movements for change should be mentioned here.[43] Yet all this does not imply that theologians ideally should monopolize this field.

Routinely applied terms like sect, cult, to define these independent church movements do imply religious deviance, unorthodox sidetracking, not quite acceptable to the European mainstream of religious thought. Labels like "African Prophet Church" and "African Schisms" show an ethnocentric bias and may carry some western ideological overtones, derived from a self-righteous orthodoxy. Moreover some of the social-scientific verbiage used may smuggle--via a back door--the concept of homeostasis and the assumption that religious deviancy is a temporary abberation which will balance itself out smoothly in equilibrium. Frankly, it does not allow room for individual social actors and the collectivity they are engaged in while designing configurations of societal reality.

In his Preface, Stanley Barrett confesses to be an agnostic himself, raised in the western rational and scientific method of thinking. He says that he considers it treacherous to enter the cognitive world of the Olowo people and to think in the same terms of causality as the Olowo Apostles do. His mentor, J. Peel, expert himself on similar movements in Nigeria (Adadura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba, 1968) warned that religion is the most difficult topic for social scientists. Weber said of himself that as far as the topic of religion was concerned, he considered himself completely "unmusical", "not tuned in". Evans-Pritchard pointed out that the early scholars of primitive religion were agnostics or atheists which fact did affect their interpretation. He quoted--as a warning to further research in this field of religion--from a colleague in this field that non-believers "will talk of religion as a blind man might of colours, or one totally devoid of ear, of a beautiful musical composition".[44]

Stanley Barrett focusses on a strongly utopian millenarian movement for change in certain parts of Nigeria: the Olowo, using this African religiously inspired community as a testing ground for Weber's Protestant Ethic. J. Peel[45] claimed that the Olowo members were mostly this-worldly oriented and that their religiously inspired outlook on life and themselves made them remarkably ready for systematic economic work. Peter Lloyd's[46] interpretation is diametrically opposed to this: he claims that their sectarian view and mood made them other-worldly and reluctant to changes. Almost all interpreters though agree that the Olowo believers tried to make Christianity more African on their own indigeneous terms. This made all these "independent" African churches in general also more compromising with traditional African forms of authority, so these new sects had a strongly emancipatory effect on the anxious and ambitious new role player. Religion, then, may have a worldly impact on the sectarian joiner who, having acquired the sectarian group consciousness, is better prepared and equipped for socio-political and economic action as well. Stanley Barrett's interpretation appears the same as Sundkler's: the schismatic church movements open up new avenues for indigeneous Black leaders and followers. This would run parallel to Weber's interpretation of the Protestant Ethic: these church sects and movements are symptomatic for the process of emancipation, potentially revolutionary, setting in motion a whole new process of modernization, rationalization, humanistic development of people engaged in raising their own consciousness about the world surrounding them and the place they occupy in it.

The Olowo case is a most complex utopian religious movement with many millenarian dimensions--closely observed, well-recorded and researched. To abbreviate this African movement and make it relevant to other forms of millenialism, especially to the Black Muslims and the Ras Tafaris, Stanley Barrett suggests that the Olowo movement served as a functional equivalent of the Protestant Ethic, that it drastically modernized the members and their socio-economic activities. He lists the emancipatory ingredients which the movement entailed: a strong belief in divine determination, ascetism, rationalization and obsession with work as an inherently good pass-time, held to be successful in the long run. However, the one ideal-typical characteristic of the Calvinistic ethic was obviously missing: individualism. On the contrary, the fervent believers in this case were completely wrapped up in the collective community sense and effort, and they submitted themselves totally to the authority of the leader. In a comparative final analysis with Japan's modernization process: the Olowo movement, too, was an innovative collective orientation, stimulating development on a group base.

To conclude: Stanley Barrett's analysis contains rich theoretical material on Weber's Protestant Ethic. It is a most innovative and fascinating study in this field of African religious movement viewed in the context of social change and modernization. He brings the European 19th and 20th century sociological tradition to bear upon the perplexing variety of African religious initiatives taken in the area of modernization on indigeneous terms. The conclusion Barrett comes up with can be made relevant to other Black movements outside Africa, as well.

Research on social movements and how they are interrelated with social change--specifically interwoven with processes of acculturation--is a most crucial field for CD. Brian du Toit did research on several religiously based movements including millenarian ones entitled Configurations of Cultural Continuity (Balkema, Rotterdam, 1976). His cross-cultural research--comparable to Hobsbawn's analysis Primitive Rebels--covers a wide variety of movements which aim either at preventing social change at whatever cost, and guarantee continuity; or which accommodate and even initiate change. For our perspective here it is fascinating to follow him briefly in his differentiating between movements for and against social change:

(1) In tribal societies he focusses on mechanisms which ensure that the basic socio-cultural trait are properly passed on to the next generation. He calls this phase in the collective socialization process "The inculcation of traditional value orientations"--in other words: the rites of passage--which is made into a separate chapter of his analysis.

(2) In a variety of societies Du Toit focusses on movements of cultural adjustment like many millenarian ones and so-called secret societies like for example The Carbonari in 19th century Italy, and a whole variety of cults in modern societies.

(3) The last chapter is dedicated to movements which do not want to adapt to changes, which put all their energy into holding back, even preventing change. Under this heading, Du Toit looks analytically at both the Ku Klux Klan and the Afrikaner Broederbond which prove to be highly similar. This comparative treatment throws a revealing light on the two total societies: the U. S. A. and Republic of South Africa, and why and how these movements were initiated and kept going for such a long period of time. They are symptomatic for an epidemic-type of societal disease: ideological exclusiveness.

> We may realize that a myth is a faulty explanation leading to social delusion and error, but we do not usually realize that we ourselves share in the myth-making faculty with all men of all times and places, that each of us has his own store of myths which has been derived from the traditional stock, always in ready supply, of the society in which we live. In earlier days we believed in magic, possession, and exorcism, in good and evil supernatural powers, and until recently, we believed in witchcraft. Today many of us believe in "race". "Race" is the witchcraft of our time. The means by which we exorcise demons. It is the contemporary myth. Man's most dangerous myth.[47]

Most fruitful research has been done and new theoretical insights have been gained in the last two decades in this field of religiously propelled movements for change. The constant frantic search for a community, a place where to feel at home, a supportive niche of shared identity may escalate into a revolutionary Gemeinschaft as manifest in the so-called "independent Church movements" and their forever multiplying schismatic subdivisions and offshoots. This recent field of separate social scientific endeavor--a sub-division of sociology of religion frequently practised by anthropologists, church historians and theologians--is a most fertile soil for advancing our theoretical and practical knowledge of what community means to people who are in the continuing process of building it--in the face of their own societal reality crumbling under the onslaught of forces from outside. The collective drive to regain the land taken away by the colonial power, held to be irreplaceable because of the communal manner of living and sacred because of the direct continuous communication with the ancestors, personally identified with the land, is a spiritual issue, transcending material and tangible needs. It is part and parcel of the whole religious canopy that used to hold the members of the tribal community together. What these new sectarian church movements offer is spiritual superordination instead of the socio-political subordination and dehumanizing degradation of the Africans. What they need most acutely is a place to feel at home and respected again.

For the CD perspective, it is highly relevant to investigate who are joining these movements and what is the outcome of these collective efforts against or for change. The apparent heterogeneity of the movements' membership is perplexing.

> . . . the apparent cultural homogenization of African populations in religious movements organizations may in fact be a statement of growing trends of social stratification based upon a class system. Congregations may increasingly reflect the class structure. Thus, cultural and ethnic heterogeneity may be replaced by class homogeneity within the context of religious movements. . . . This feature suggests a positive relationship between nationalism not limited to political and economic concerns but one which encompasses religious and cultural foci. These movements indicate the formation of African consciousness which accepts the intrinsic value of things African and naturalizes them within the Christian tradition.[48]

Those schismatic movements for renewal mushrooming in rural areas offered the badly needed emotional support in the field of basic needs: healing, coping with diseases and death, and trying to come up with new satisfying alternatives to witchcraft and magic. Movements spreading in the cities may encompass a much broader spectrum of issues, especially modern socio-economic and political ones. Sundkler very clearly differentiates between the small over-crowded store front churches in and around Johannesburg and the big almost permanent religious campsites--the "kraals" under their prophet leader--where church members are flocking for elaborate long-lasting baptismal and conversion ceremonies.

> African Christian churches developing within the context of social change acted as adaptive institutions. Unlike traditional religious organizations, many of the new churches, particularly those in rapidly urbanizing areas, were voluntary associations that constituted partial substitutes for kin-based relationships and functioned as instruments for coping with a changing social scene. The urban churches provided mutual aid and a sense of belonging and were agencies of social control and mechanisms for achieving status, prestige and leadership in terms of modern criteria.[49]

However, the emphasis on how these movements are mostly adaptive, means for people in crisis to cope with the social change is often overdone: solely a functionalist reduction of societal reality which should rather be approached from a holistic and humanistic perspective.

The aim of this thesis was to show that all these movements are far more than a reaction to a situation of despair and disorientation, far more than a "crisis cult". They prove the enormous indigeneous creativity of the groups in their ongoing struggle to construct and revitalize the religious canopy of their community.

Wallace poignantly summarizes the development of Christianity: how it had developed over many centuries from

> . . . a millenarian, apocalyptic Jewish sect led by the fanatical Messiah Jesus, into a Gentile Greco-Roman sect led by Paul, and eventually into the giant institution of the Roman church.[50]

To be part and parcel of the so-called modern western civilization which we now perceive as extremely "secular" and "scientific"--may have made us oblivious to the historical fact that the West throughout the medieval and during modern times period grew out of a variety of millenarian movements itself. Moreover, the period of the Reformation in Europe is quite comparable to the schismatic renewals now spreading all over Africa.

It was Roger Bastide who spent the better part of his life studying the complex variety of African cults among the Blacks in Brazil. Starting off with a modified Marxian-inspired framework, Bastide manages to bring out the authentic processes of acculturation as manifest in these African survival cults. He terms his own research "Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations". His most innovative and profound approach should be basic to any research project in this field of social change, social movement and religion.

> Reacting against what he saw as the sterility of much contemporary British social anthropology, against the limitations of North American functionalism, against the "folkloric" or "antiquarian" approach, and against ethnocentrism and racism of any stripe, Bastide attempted to enter and grasp "candomblé" [the cult he studied and became extremely inspired by himself] as a living system of symbols. . . . Bastide saw religion as a central part of mankind's ongoing cultural activity; the anthropology of religion was, for him, a matter of going beyond "the chaos of religious facts" in order "to understand man as manipulator of the sacred, and constructor of symbolic worlds". For Bastide trance and dreams, myth and madness, could be viewed as special languages, and he argued early that the discovery of their semantic and syntactic structure must be a major goal. . . . Anthropology . . . ought to cease classifying cultural manifestations like dried herbs placed between the pages of a thick tome, cease classifying cultural manifestations like objects in a museum. A myth is not a dead thing, a dried flower; it lives and moves like the dreams of a sleeper.[51]

In his article "Observations on the Sociology of Social Movements", Rudolf Heberle encapsules a total perspective on social movements. Part of our Chapter II was dedicated to revolutions and revolutionary movements in historical perspective. The French Revolution was given special attention because France has always been the classical field of study for social movements, the laboratory for revolutions in the making.

> In many cases, the "movement" has taken the place of the gemeinschaft-like groups which were so abundant in pre-industrial society.[52]

Heberle uses the term "texture" to denote the quality of the socio-psychic interrelations between members of the movement; and he suggests that the concepts of community "Gemeinschaft" and association "Gesellschaft" are extremely relevant to movement and members. Deep engagement is characteristic for true believers.

> . . . a social or political creed can assume the role of a pseudo-religion, that is to say, participation can replace functionally, the genuine religious experiences and the movement may in its earlier phases assume the functional belief of a sect and later that of a church.[53]

Richard Fenn[54] claims that increasing differentiation between public and private sector has caused individuals to feel left on their own with their private value systems for their personal life. The large scale corporate "actors" make decisions completely beyond control of the individual and his value judgement. Benton Johnson articulates his disagreements with this interpretation of religion as a "privatized" affair.

> This school of thought would regard the proliferation of the religious and secular cults of self-development as a simply by-product of this process of differentiation.[55]

Fenn's interpretation then may be a serious understatement about religion, as a motivational force confined to personal life only. Benton Johnson sees a much broader role being played by religion in contemporary society.

> . . . by any contentional definition, the line between the secular and the religious has become increasingly blurred in the therapeutic enterprise . . . The new religions are only the top of the iceberg. They are merely the most colorful and the most organized expressions of a trend toward the therapeutic reconstruction of the self that has been developing for several generations. Christopher Lash is right: the contemporary climate is therapeutic, not religious.[56]
>
> The new therapies, whether secular or couched in religious language, are the successors to the traditional cure of souls. They have supplied for millions the motivational resources for living that are no longer supplied by traditional world views.[57]

This is comparable to Jurgen Habermas on "bourgeois ideologies" which are lacking in motivational resources to guide the individual in modern societies, so they had to fall back on traditional world views for emotional support and for motivational drive. As Benton Johnson summarizes:

> . . . in this country the civil religion in general and the ethos of Protestantism in particular have been the most influential of these world-views. They have helped to mitigate the demoralizing effects of a calculating and atomistic utilitarianism and they have provided a continuing source of hope for one's own future and for the future of the country.[58]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Raymond L. Hall, after his two publications on Black nationalism in the U. S. A., ventured into a cross cultural comparative perspective on various nationalistic movements and their collective search for identity and for a fatherland. He relates these movements to the Black movements for change within the U. S. A.: ". . . that Black separatism is no more than the Black struggle for justice, equality, and humanity against individual and institutional racism, injustice, and the historical and contemporary American denial of a fair chance for dignified Black survival." "It is about people who at first unconsciously accepted the American Dream in all its utopian splendor, but later realized it was a nightmare; it is also about people who hold onto the dream while struggling to unmask the nightmare, hoping that it is a sheep in wolf's clothing." Raymond L. Hall, Black Separatism in the United States (Hanover, New Hampshire: 1978), pp. 12-13.

[2] Hugh Brody, The People's Land (Penguin Books, 1975).

[3] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[4] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[5] Compare D. Booth, "Andre Gunter Frank: An Introduction and Appreciation," ed. I. Oxaal, T. Barnett and D. Booth (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. 78-80. "Exploitation and Uneven Development: From Spatial Relations to Social Relations".

[6] See P. Vallières, The White Niggers of America (McClelland and Stewart, 1971).

[7] Edward H. Berman, African Reactions to Missionary Education (New York and London: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1975), p. 9.

[8] Orlando Patterson, "Slavery and Slave Revolts: A Socio-Historical Analysis of the First Maroon War, 1665-1740," Maroon Societies, ed. Richard Price (Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1973), p. 249.

[9] Janheinz Jahan, Muntu: An Outline of the New African Culture, trans. M. Gene (New York: Grove Press, 1961), p. 51.

[10] Compare T. S. Nicholas, Ras Tafari. A Way of Life (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1979), pp. 6-20.

[11] Only much later the British got a few Maroons on their side for a short while by enlisting them as mercenaries for scouting and surveillance purposes. Of course this aspect of the Maroon history is not being revitalized by the present Ras Tafaris.

[12] Not included in this discussion are the contemporary Pentecostal movements as a vehicle of social change or social perpetuation.See the excellent study of social change and the Pentecostal vision by Robert M. Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited; The Making of American Pentecostalism (Oxford University Press, 1979). "Pentecostalism was a movement born of radical social discontent, which however, expended its revolutionary impulses in veiled, ineffectual, displaced attacks that amounted to withdrawal from the social struggle and passive acquiescence to a world they hated and wished to escape . . . Pentecostalism was an instrument forged by a segment of the working class out of protest against a social system that victimized them, but it functioned in a way that perpetuated that very system. A potential challenge to the social system was transformed into a bulwark of it." (p. 222).

[13] Compare Leonard E. Barrett, Soul Force: African Heritage in Afro-American Religion, in Eric C. Lincoln's series on Black Religion (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1974). Chapter 7. Barrett may have over-estimated his case by describing the Ras Tafaris as a multiple network and the Black Muslims as one movement directed by central charismatic leadership.

[14] We have gradually won our way back into the confidence of the God of Africa, and he shall speak with the voice of thunder, that shall shake the pillars of a corrupt and unjust world, and once more restore Ethiopia to her ancient glory. Marcus Garvey, The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 324.

We Negroes believe in the God of Ethiopia, the everlasting God, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, the one God of all ages. That's the God whom we believe but shall worship him through the spectacles of Ethiopia. Ibid., p. 44.

[15] The three men in Jamaica who started several cells of the Ras Tafari cult were all Blacks who had acquired a considerable knowledge of Africa, travelled widely and held a variety of odd jobs. Moreover they had belonged to a fundamentalist church and/or a Masonic society. Marcus Garvey's slogans were taken over wholesale, especially his inspiring dogma that the Black Man has a divine origin and that he is thus by nature superior to the White Man. Photographs of Haile Selassie (previously called Ras Tafari) were sold and guaranteed to double as passports for the imminent trip to Ethiopia.

[16] Some sort of Ras Tafari identification cards were sold to prospective followers and said to guarantee imminent transportation by boat to Ethiopia. One group was reported to carry around an empty platter in loudly voiced anticipation of President Manley's head--to be chopped off soon. This was more than any government would ever tolerate.

[17] M. G. Smith, Roy Augier and Rex Nettleford, "The Ras Tafarian Movement in Kingston, Jamaica," Social and Economic Studies (University of the West Indies, 1962).

[18] Compare Leonard J. Barrett, op. cit., pp. 171-172.

[19] Lanternari elaborates in his historical survey Religion of the Oppressed: over and again the millenarian spirit seems to arise out of its own ashes. A most illustrative example are the Lazarretti in 19th century Italy: peasants who kept their unwavering passion for the imminent return of their Savior, especially in face of contradicting events. When they arrived on top of the mountain where the Lord's victorious return was predicted--all dressed in white gowns to express the imminency of eternal life--police officers started shooting at the participants and many believers were killed instantly. South African 20th century history is abundant with examples like that, the Bulhoek incident in 1923 being one of the earlier and most violent ones.

[20] Haile Selassie and his staff were almost trampelled under by the enthusiastic welcomers. The stormy welcome caused the biggest traffic jam ever recorded in Jamaica. The emperor and his entourage had to be manoeuvred away from the scene of millenarian agitation by emergency measures. Later, he granted a few polite words of exchange with some representatives of the Ras Tafaris who appeared satisfied with whatever his Highness said or did not say.

[21] In the meantime, the Ras Tafaris are truly living according to their Old Testament inspired simple life style: back to Moses and back to nature. As typical for almost all millenarian movements there are many eating and drinking taboos. No western chemicals, additives nor medicines are tolerated; only one drug is allowed, even more so, ritually encouraged: namely ganja, i. e. marijuana. This ganja rite has caused many problems for the Brethren and of course has made authorities extremely suspicious of the Ras Tafarian communal goals and projects. It has given them some bad publicity and a negative group image, unfortunately.

[22] Leonard E. Barrett wrote first a concise monograph on the Ras Tafaris. The Rastafarians; A Study in Messianic Cultism in Jamaica (University of Puerto Rico, 1968); then he widened his field of research by branching out into a comparative treatment of Black counter-movements and their revitalized culture put in historical and cross-cultural perspective. This last study is also interdisciplinary and most relevant to CD facilitators in order to become aware of the enormous creativity generated by such movements. The impact of such counter movements on the total society is of crucial importance to CD and to people who claim to be working in the field according to CD principles.

[23] Ibid., p. 153.

[24] Characteristics for so-called Fundamentalist churches which tend to approve of present socio-economic and political conditions by legitimating the status quo or agitating for retrogressive legislation. The present so-called moral majority in the U. S. A.--and somewhat overspilling into Canada too--could be quoted here as an example.

[25] Compare M. Sanford, "Revitalization Movements as Indicators of Completed Acculturation," Comparative Studies of Society and History (Vol. 16, 1974), pp. 504-518.

[26] Compare Lincoln, The Negro Pilgrimage in America (New York: Bantam Books, 1967). The long and painful history of the Blacks as a permanently oppressed group was the focus of this separate study by Lincoln. When he seems extremely pessimistic about permanent change for the Blacks as a sub-group within the total American society, his interpretation is extremely well documented.

[27] Lincoln, Introduction to L. E. Barrett, Soul Force, p. xiii.

[28] Nicholas, op. cit., p. 30.

[29] Machiavelli then goes on with his biting mockery--all out of sincere concern about the desperate state of socio-political affairs in the Italian city-states during the Renaissance--bringing to life on the stage a bunch of corrupt crooks who are trying remarkably successfully to outdo each other in trickery and facade morality in order to gain power and control. The devastating attacks--above all on the men who are representing the power of the Church convey an extreme pessimism about human nature --an early modern instance of secular critique of a blatant attack on the perversity of what used to be sacred. This play shows Machiavelli the ethical philosopher who wanted to put some kind of moral back into the management of societal affairs. By turning the human world upside down in his evocative writing, he aimed to depict how thoroughly corrupted the wielders of power and influence proved to be behind their church-protected facade of legitimated outer morality.

[30] Nicholas, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

[31] V. Murvar, "Messianism in Russia: Religious and Revolutionary," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion (Vol. 10, 1971), pp. 277-338.

[32] In retrospective, some of the literature poured out on poverty and underdevelopment in the 1950's and

1960's has become if not obsolete, biased and at least, incomplete. A lot of it by now may be of mostly historical value to the specialist in the field of history of ideas and concepts.

"I am afraid that much of the plight of the poor continues to be a concocted tool of social revolutions, middle class perspectives, and ambitious social scientists caught up in the culturally competitive academic arena where the myths of poverty are contemporary grist for their publishing mills." Melvin D. Williams, Community in a Black Pentecostal Church (Pittsburgh: 1974), p. 184.

See Lewis, 1968; Parker and Kleiner, 1970; Riesman, 1964; Spier et al., 1959; Valentine, 1968, 1969.

[33] Compare C. Hutton and R. Cohen, "African Peasants and Resistance to Change," Beyond the Sociology of Development, ed. I. Oxaal, T. Barnett, David Booth (London: 1975).

[34] Williams, op. cit., p. 175.

[35] Ibid., p. 174.

[36] Ibid., p. 179

[37] See for example, John H. Denton, Apartheid American Style (Berkeley, California: Diabolo Press, 1967). P. L. van den Berghe, Race and Racism. A Comparative Perspective (New York and London: 1967).

[38] Bengt Sundkler, Bantu Prophets (London: 1948), p. 176.

[39] Compare Sundkler's conclusions in Bantu Prophets, pp. 295-301.

[40] Sundkler, op. cit., p. 179.

[41] Bengt Sundkler, Zulu Zionism (Oxford University Press: 1976), p. 319.

[42] Comparable to the emancipation described by the Renaissance philosopher Pico de Morandola in 15th century Italy.

[43] Compare H. W. Turner, "African Prophets Movements: A Methodology for Modern African Religious Movements," Comparative Studies in Society and History (Vol. 8, 1965-66), pp. 281-294; and History of an African Independent Church I, The Church of the Lord Aladura (Oxford: 1967).

[44] Evans-Pritchard, Theories of Primitive Religion, (Oxford: 1965), p. 15.

[45] J. Peel, Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba (London: 1968), p. 300.

[46] P. Lloyd, "The Traditional Political System of the Yoruba," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 10 (1954), pp. 366-384. Also compare P. C. Lloyd, Africa in Social Change (Penguin, 1969).

[47] From a study by the same title Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race, Ashley Montagu, (Oxford University, 1974), p. 3. Also compare: Dunham, Man Against Myth; Evans, The Natural History of Nonsense; Bain, "Man, the Myth-maker," Scientific Monthly LXV (1947), pp. 61-69; Feuer, "Political Myths and Metaphysics," Philosophy and Phenomenological Research XV (1955), pp. 332-350; Murray (ed.) Myth and Mythmaking, 1960; and Richard H. Osborne, The Biological and Social Meaning of Race (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1971).

[48] George Bond, Walton Johnson and Sheila S. Walker (ed.) African Christianity, Patterns of Religious Continuity (New York: Academic Press, 1979), p. 164.

[49] Ibid., p. 166.

[50] A. Wallace, Religion: An Anthropological View (Random House, 1966), p. 254.

[51] Bastide as quoted in Foreword by Richard Price, p. ix, The African Religions of Brazil (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

[52] Rudolf Heberle, "Observations on the Sociology of Social Movements," American Sociological Review (Vol. 14, 1949), pp. 346-357.

[53] Ibid., p. 356.

[54] Fenn, "Towards a New Sociology of Religion," Journal for Scientific Study of Religion, 11 (March, 1972), pp. 16-32; and "Toward a Theory of Secularization," Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Monograph Series, Number 1 (1978).

[55] Fenn, "Toward a Theory of Secularization", p. 4.

[56] Benton Johnson, "A Sociological Perspective on the New Religions" (Unpublished paper, University of Oregon), pp. 2-3.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid., p. 9.

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